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PUBLIC POLICY PLANNING IN EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF POLICY FORMATION FOR THE EARLY CHILDHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM IN ALBERTA

by

© JEAN J. SEGUIN

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled PUBLIC POLICY PLANNING IN EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF POLICY FORMATION FOR THE EARLY CHILDHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM IN ALBERTA
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyse an instance of the process of public policy formation in education. To this end, the key events associated with the development of the basic policies formulated to govern the Alberta Early Childhood Services (1973) were described and analysed.

The analysis focussed on the interactions of the key participants and the context in which these interactions occurred. It was conducted within a conceptual framework based on Jantsch's "Rational Creative Action" model which integrated policymaking into the planning process, as the highest level of planning. To this model a dimension incorporating Easton's conceptualization of the political process was added. Furthermore, Gergen's Leverage Assessment Technique was applied.

A case-study approach was utilized and data were gathered from both documentary sources and interviews. The interviews were planned and carried out according to Dexter's "elite interviewing technique" and all data were subjected to content analysis.

Validity and reliability of information were verified through Webb _et al._'s triangulation process and

also through the assistance of a panel of expert judges which reviewed the "Chronological Overview of Events".

A notable observation from the study was that the process was largely dominated by the Government at the planning and decision-making phases while there was considerable involvement by a number of participants at the forecasting phase. The implementation phase was not included in this study.

A further observation pertains to the critical leadership role played by some education professionals, spearheaded by a few key people associated with the universities but also holding memberships in the major interest groups.

The ECS policy development process appears to have been a clear attempt at utilizing a systems approach as opposed to only an incremental one. It also seems to reflect a conscious effort by the Government policymakers to be open-minded and not simply to develop policies which were a duplicate of what was available elsewhere.

Finally, the involvement of several participants in the ECS policy development process, through the Minister's Advisory Committee appears to have resulted in a broadening of perspective of these actors. Consequently the conceptualization of an early childhood program which emerged seems to have been substantially richer than the original inputs of individual participants.

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

In March 1973, the Alberta Government introduced a comprehensive Early Childhood Services (ECS) program. At that time, Alberta was the only Province in Canada to make legal provision for the operation of kindergartens without providing any funding for them.

The establishment of ECS necessitated the creation of a structure extending horizontally into other Government Departments, and the development of a program embodying an approach which was totally new to the Alberta education scene.

In view of this, the policy development process which led to the ECS program presents a most interesting case for the analysis of policy formation.

In order to conduct this analysis, an approach was chosen which appears to hold some promise as a means to better explain and understand the formation of public policy.

The relatively recent conceptualization of the policy development process introduced by Ozbekhan and further refined by Jantsch, which views policymaking as an integral part of the planning process and more particularly its highest level, was felt to be such an approach.

The study reported herein applies the Jantsch conceptualization to a case of public policy formation in education, namely, to the Alberta Early Childhood Services program.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to analyse a particular instance of the process of public policy formation in education.

Through the use of the case study approach, the key events associated with the development of the basic policies formulated to govern the Alberta Early Childhood Services program (1973), were described, and the process involved in the development of these policies was analysed.

The analysis focussed on the interactions of major participants and the context in which the interactions occurred. It was conducted within the general framework of an expanded version of Jantsch's "Rational Creative Action" model.

Justification for the Study

Dye (1975:4-5) indicates that public policy in general can be studied for purely scientific reasons, professional reasons, and political purposes.

1. Scientific Reasons

The study of public policy can be justified on the grounds that any endeavour which seeks to enhance our understanding of the causes and consequences of policy related decisions, is, at face value at least, deemed to be desirable.

Improved understanding gained through a systematic investigation of the components and their interrelationships which essentially constitute the policy planning process, may contribute to the advancement of theory in the area, and possibly our ability to explain and predict the dynamics of the process.

2. Professional Reasons

A better understanding of the policy process may aid in the application of the knowledge gained, to the solution of problems encountered in professional practice. In Dye's words (1954:4):

> ... policy studies can produce professional advice, in terms of "if... then..." statements about how to achieve desired goals.

3. Political Reasons

It can be argued that the knowledge accumulated from policy studies can be made available to political decision-makers in order to provide them with such guidance as might result in "better" policies being developed.

In summary, it is felt that the study of the development of the basic policies which led to Early Childhood Services in Alberta can be justified on the basis that:

- it may contribute to a greater understanding from a scientific point of view, of the policy

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formation process;
- it may lead to the application of any knowledge gained, in professional practice; and
- it may, in conjunction with other policy studies, provide some guidance to public policymakers in order to develop "better" policies.

In the light of the above it is suggested therefore, that the study of the development of basic policies which led to ECS in Alberta may, as a descriptive and explanatory account of a specific instance of policy development, be valuable not only for its own sake, but also for its potential contribution to more successful prescription in other instances.

Research Problems

Consistent with the conceptual framework presented later in the thesis, the following research problems were formulated to guide the collection of date in order to fulfil the purpose of the study.

1. What individuals and groups participated in some important way in the process which resulted in the basic policies governing the Early Childhood Services Program in Alberta?
2. What input was made by these participants relative to basic issues during the different phases of the process?

3. What were the dynamics of the major interactions among the participants in the policy development process?

4. How compatible was the outcome of the process with the positions advocated by the participants?

Elaboration of Research Problems

Problem No. 1

What participants could be identified who provided important input into the policy formation process for the Early Childhood Services Program in Alberta?

Sub-problems

1.1 What individuals and groups have participated directly in the policy planning process or have otherwise been able to influence this process at the forecasting phase, the planning phase, and/or the decision-making phase respectively for particular policy issues?

1.2 What leverage did these people appear to possess at the phases in which they participated?

Problem No. 2

What was the nature and importance of the input contributed by the various participants regarding particular policy issues?

Sub-problems

2.1 What positions were adopted by each participant concerning specific issues?

2.2 To what extent were these positions compatible with those held by other participants?

2.3 What degree of importance was attributed by participants to the inputs of other participants?

Problem No. 3

What were the dynamics of the interactions and deliberations which had an important bearing on the development of the basic Early Childhood Services policies as stated in Operational Plans?

Sub-problems

3.1 How did the deliberations originate and by whom were they initiated?

3.2 What was the format of the deliberations and what procedures were followed during their course?

3.3 What decision points in the deliberations were judged to be crucial?

3.4 To what extent did the course of the deliberative process appear to have been influenced by research data available, leverage of participants, and by outside situational factors?

3.5 What coalitions among participants evolved and how did these affect the development of the policy issues?

Problem No. 4

How compatible was the outcome of the policy process with the positions advocated by the participants?

Sub-problems

4.1 What changes (if any) occurred over time in the basic positions adopted by the various participants regarding the various policy issues?

4.2 To what extent did the final policies adopted (as they appear in Operational Plans) reflect the positions held by the different participants?

4.3 To what extent did the final policies adopted reflect consensus among the participants?

Delimitations and Assumptions

1. Delimitations

The study was delimited with respect to duration, nature and scope.

Time Restrictions

The study examined the policy development process beginning with the earliest available data, and concluding with the official announcement of the Early Childhood Services Program in March of 1973.

Nature of the Study

The policy development process was examined as it applied specifically to the development of basic policies for the Early Childhood Services Program in Alberta. This was done from the perspective of the development of publicly-supported preprimary programs in Alberta. Consequently, nursery schools, playschools, day-care centres and private schools were considered only insofar as the discussion of these was thought to relate to the development of a publicly-supported,province-wide early childhood education program.

Specifically, the study was delimited to the evolution of kindergarten and early childhood education leading to ECS, involving participation in publicly-supported programs on a non-compulsory basis by children who were in the year immediately preceding their entrance into the regular primary education system.

The focus of the study was on the persons or groups identified as participants, and their interactions during the policy development process, as opposed to the contextual variables.

Scope of the Study

The examination of the policy development process was terminated with the decision-making phase and did not include implementation.

Finally, the study was delimited to the examination of the interactions of participants for whom evidence was found to indicate that they contributed in some important way to the policy process.

2. Assumptions

It was assumed that:

a) It was possible to identify the major actors in the policy development process relating to the Early Childhood Services program in Alberta.

b) The individuals identified were able to recollect and factually relate to the interviewer an accurate report of the events which took place, and of the deliberations which occurred.

c) The documentary data available on the subject represented a comprehensive account of what actually happened.

d) It was possible to reconstruct from the data gathered, the processes in the development of the ECS policies.

Limitations

Firstly, the study was limited by the exclusion from its scope of the implementation phase. The implementation phase or the "Rational Creative Action" phase, using Jantsch's terminology, would constitute a separate research study.

Secondly, the study is limited by the emphasis given to the more visible spokespersons or representatives of particular interest groups who openly attempted to influence government policymakers. Because of the difficulty of documenting the participation of pers[illegible] who played a "behind the scenes role" and the need to consolidate available data, it is possible that insufficient importance may have been attributed to the activities of these persons or that some may have been excluded altogether.

Similarly, the deliberate focussing on activities intended by individuals or groups to influence government policymakers,as opposed to those deliberations which might have taken place to shape a particular position before attempting to communicate it to government, may possibly have resulted in an oversimplification of some information.

Finally, the limitations which are typically characteristic of case studies and of the interview method of collecting data were also applicable to the study. For example, it is possible that information of a sensitive nature might not have been volunteered.

Delineation of the Study

In Chapter I the purpose of the study is stated and the research problems are elaborated. The limitations, delimitations and assumptions which set the parameters and specify the constraints for the study are then outlined. Finally, a justification for the study is advanced.

In Chapter II literature relevant to the thesis is reviewed and the conceptual framework undergirding the study is defined.

Chapter III explains the research methodology while Chapter IV presents the main body of data. In Chapters V, VI and VII those data are interpreted and analysed.

Finally, the conclusion to the study is presented along with some personal observations by the author regarding possible implications for practice and suggestions for further research are given.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE
AND
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1. Concept of policy

The concept of policy as interpreted and utilized in this study will be briefly explained by firstly looking at a few basic approaches to the study of the policy process, and secondly by examining current major definitions of policy.

a) Approaches to the study of the policy process

Among the various attempts to impose some sense of order on the many approaches to the study of policymaking, the frameworks suggested by Dror, Dye, Shoettle and Stringham respectively, appear to encompass the major thrusts in the field and hence merit closer examination.

Dror (1968) views policymaking models from the perspective of rationality versus extrarationality and proceeds to classify them accordingly. Adopting a middle of the road stance, he submits that neither the rational nor the extrarational approach in their pure form or in their various degrees, satisfactorily accounts for real-life policymaking and hence develops in their stead a model which he calls "optimal".

Dye (1975:18-39) in a somewhat different vein, chose to categorize the approaches to policymaking according to one or more of the following models:

1. Institutionalism: policy as institutional activity.
2. Group Theory: policy as group equilibrium.
3. Elite Theory: policy as elite preference.
4. Rationalism: policy as efficient goal attainment.
5. Incrementalism: policy as variations on the past.
6. Game Theory: policy as rational choice in competitive situations.
7. Systems Theory: policy as system output.

It can be argued that Dror's "rationality" component is also an important aspect of Dye's classification although the latter makes no specific provision for "extrarationality" which is an essential element of Dror's "optimal" model.

According to Stringham (1974:37) the optimal model is in fact a systems approach wherein both rational and extrarational elements are included, and incremental attempts to maximize rational decision-making appear to be advocated.

Shoettle in Bauer and Gergen (1968:170), while recognizing that Decision-making Theory, Group Theory, Elite Theory and Institutionalism are all important elements which are necessary in any systematic formulation of the policy process, maintains that they are not sufficiently powerful as organizing principles or theoretical constructs to provide a model of the policymaking process. She therefore rejects them and opts instead for Easton's Systems theory.

Finally Stringham (1974:34) argues that the five models, in addition to the systems model which Dye identified, can be subsumed as segments of the systems model. Three of them he states, relate to a structural aspect of the system while the others relate to its functioning.

It is the contention of this writer that "Games Theory" added by Dye (ibid) in 1975 to his 1972 classification, also relates to the functioning of the system.

On the basis of the foregoing, the position is adopted in this study that policymaking, with its many variations of form, style, level, focus and scope, can be defensibly considered from the perspective of the systems framework.

b) Definition of policy

David Easton (1965:50) defines public policy as "the authoritative allocation of values for society". This is interpreted by Dye (ibid:1) to mean whatever governments choose to do or not to do.

Ranney (1968:7) states:

> A public policy is but one special case (of policy) albeit of central importance for political scientists. Its special character consists in the fact that it is adopted and implemented by what David Easton calls "the authorities" in a political system.

This public policy Eulau and Eyestone (in Hofferbert 1974: 6) state, is "a response of government to challenges or pressures from physical and social environment."

Nadel (1975:3), takes issue with the widely accepted view that public policy is exclusively government policy and contends that such a view is limited and unrealistic. He proposes therefore a reinterpretation of, and an elaboration upon Easton's basic formulation. To the three components which in Easton's view form the essence of public policy (that is authority, bindingness and allocation of values for society), he adds a fourth component, namely, "intent". Nadel hence suggests that a public policy is an allocation of values that is authoritative, binding and intentional. "Allocation of values" as defined by Almond and Powell (1966:198) is basically accepted to mean "the distribution of goods, services, honors, statuses and opportunities of various kinds" and according to Nadel's interpretation need apply only to a significant segment of society, provided that it be authoritative though not necessarily legitimate.

Lowi (1970:317) reviewing definitions of policy formulated by Dror, Lindblom and Bauer and colleagues in Bauer and Gergen, offers the criticism that they all tend to equate decision-making with policymaking (despite their claims not to do so), and appear to treat all decisions as policies. Although Lowi himself does not explicitly state how the concepts of policymaking and decision-making should be differentiated, his argument is basically that decisions are merely components of the larger entities which should be called policies.

Whereas the accuracy of Lowi's observations concerning the definitions of policy offered by Dror, Lindblom, and Bauer et al. could be debated, the potential contribution to be made by these writers and more specifically by Dror and Bauer, toward a clarification of the meaning of policy, should not be overlooked.

Bauer in Bauer and Gergen (1968:2), referring to the scope of policy, indicates that it is a course-setting involving decisions of the widest ramifications and longest time perspective. This same breadth of scope is also present as one of several elements of Dror's definition in which he conceives of public policy as:

> ... major guidelines for action directed at the future decided mainly by governmental organs. These guidelines (policies) aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means (1968: 12).

As stated, Dror's definition does not easily accommodate Nadel's notion (referred to earlier) that public policymaking should not be restricted exclusively to governmental bodies.

Steering clear of any specific mention of a governmental body as exclusive public policymaker, Stringham (1974:17) provides a definition of public policy which, although based on Dror's formulation, appears to be more universal in its application. Stringham states:

> (public policy is)... a major guideline for future discretionary action. It is generalized, philosophically based, and implies an intention for taking action.

From the above discussion, a number of statements can be drawn which may be regarded as a set of assumptions upon which the understanding of policy for this study is based, and against which the operational definition adopted will be interpreted:

1. Public policy is the output of the political process within a systems framework.
2. A policy is a major guideline for future discretionary action.
3. A policy is philosophically based (derives from values).
4. It is useful to distinguish between public policy and non-public policy.
5. It is also useful to distinguish between public policy made by a governmental body and that made by a non-governmental body.

In this study, the definition of policy adopted by Jantsch as part of his "Rational Creative Action" model, will be used. He states (1970:46) "policies are normative expressions of future states of dynamic systems". This definition is felt to be compatible with the above statements.

Operationally, basic policies for the Early Childhood Services Program as described in the Operational Plans (Department of Education, Government of Alberta, 1973), are identified and utilized as the point of departure for the retrospective analysis of the process which resulted in their formulation.

2. Concept of Planning

The concept of planning as interpreted and utilized in this thesis is explained by examining some commonly referred to definitions of planning in the literature on planning and also attempts at synthesizing and consolidating some basic elements found in those definitions.

Dror's (1963:50) definition of planning is one that has gained wide acceptance, it states:

> Planning is the process of preparing a set of decisions for action in the future, directed at achieving goals by optimal means.

Anderson and Bowman in Adams (1864:9) adopt a definition similar to Dror's but without the optimization provision.

Kim (1975:76) remarks that Friedmann emphasizes planning as "guidance of change within a social system" rather than the goal-setting and goal/means reconciliation stressed in the earlier definitions.

Miklos in Miklos _et al_. (1972:5,6) observes that one of the most distinguishing elements in definitions of planning is the reference to rationality. Examining the definitions advanced by Coombs and Eide, Miklos perceives an emphasis not only on increased rationality with respect to means, but also regarding the identification of alternative choices and concern with goals.

A second distinguishing characteristic common to (or implicit in) the definitions reviewed by Miklos, is future orientation and the conceptualization of planning as a process. Miklos then defines planning as one aspect of the decision process within a system which involves:

1. the identification and refinement of alternative goals,
2. the development of alternative means for achieving selected goals and,
3. the identification of the most promising (effective and efficient) means.

Keoyote (1973:14-18), noting the lack of consensus in the literature about the concept of planning, compares the definitions proposed by Ewing, Friedmann, Dror and Miklos. From the elements isolated therefrom, Keoyote (ibid:39) constructs the following composite definition of planning:

> ... a dimension of the total decision-making process in an organization. It involves the identification of alternative goals directed towards future and change, and the development, assessment and revision of alternative means. The outcome of planning is a set of alternative goals and means.

Ozbekhan in Jantsch (1969:151) in his General Theory of Planning formulates a definition which accommodates most of the key elements mentioned in the above definitions. He states:

> In its greatest generality, planning is defined as a future-directed decision process the fundamental characteristic of which is, that it is conscious and rational.

It represents acting on some object (the environment) for the purpose of effecting pre-intended controlled change. Under certain conditions, not acting in order to maintain the status quo is also included in this conceptualization of planning.

It is Ozbekhan's definition which is adopted for the purposes of this research and is discussed in greater depth in a further section of the thesis.

3. Integration of Policymaking within Planning Framework

Ozbekhan (ibid:139) argues that the current practice of viewing policy formation and formulation as decisions which precede and transcend any planning, creates a dangerous functional distortion by allowing policymaking to be seen as a "political" activity that defines objectives and goals, while planning is viewed at least by implication, as consisting of "administrative" work undertaken to regulate the implementation of given policies. This, Ozbekhan states, has the impoverishing effect of creating a gulf between policymaker and administrator and causing the policymaker to become too concerned with what is feasible and practical in terms of its implementation, rather than with what "ought to be". In order to counteract what he calls "the damaging impact of administrative domination" Ozbekhan proposes that planning be seen

> ... not as the handmaiden of policymaking but as the larger framework of decision and action processes of which policymaking itself- that is policymaking in the form of norm-seeking -is an intrinsic phase.

Pursuing a similar line of thought, Kahn (1969:13) rejects as "over-rigid and unreal" the view that goals in planning, are predetermined. Goals, he maintains "are a dynamic and developmental phenomenon in planning; rather than predetermined, they too are the product of a complex series of interaction". Underlining this close relationship seen to exist between policymaking and planning, Kahn (ibid:17) quotes LeBreton and Henning who state that "Policies are standing plans" and Tinbergen, who remarks that "The design of policy is another word for planning".

Long, quoted in Steiss (1973:12) argues that:

> Plans are policies and policies in a democracy at any rate, spell politics. The question is not whether planning will reflect politics, but whose politics will it reflect. What values and whose values will planners seek to implement.

Stressing that the conventional "orthodox" planning is quite insufficient, Jantsch (1970:35), quotes the Bellagio Declaration on Planning which states:

> Planning must be concerned with the structural design of the system itself and involved in the formation of policy.

As its first rule to bring about this transformation of planning, the Bellagio Declaration on Planning prescribes

> ... (that) the scope of planning... be expanded to encompass the formulation of alternative policies and the examination, analysis and explicit stipulation of the underlying values and norms.

Questioning the artificial dichotomy imposed, Pfiffner and Vance quoted in Banghart and Trull (1973:12) comment:

> The distinction which is sometimes made between "policy" and "planning", the one being value-loaded and the other a mere technique, seems to suffer from a failure to see that means and ends are but part of a continuum... As long as means are related to ends and the latter in turn are concerned with values, planning and policy are also related.

Dror (1971:93) suggests that the many failures of planning in practice and the many inadequacies manifest in planning theory could possibly be somewhat rectified by viewing planning as a component of the new "Policy Sciences". A parallel suggestion is advanced by Taylor (1975:27) who comments that the concept of a comprehensive formal planning system has been shown to have a limited application and needs to be replaced by "Policy Analysis".

While supporting the position that the integration of the concepts of policymaking and planning is desirable, Dror and Taylor would view planning as a component of policymaking rather than the reverse as advocated by Ozbekhan and Jantsch.

4. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework utilized for this study rests basically on the framework developed by Jantsch (1970) which is expanded to include a third dimension drawn essentially from Easton's conceptualization of the political system.

A brief discussion of Jantsch's "Rational Creative Action" model is therefore presented, followed by a quick examination of the systems view of the political process.

Next, the case for focussing on the individual will be argued and the Gergen technique for assessing leverage of individual participants will be reviewed.

Finally, the "Expanded Rational Creative Action" model will be explained.

a) Jantsch's "Rational Creative Action Model"

The conception and implementation of policies, Jantsch states (1970:32), form an integral and most important part of the "process of rational creative action".

Jantsch conceives of the process of rational creative action as unfolding in the interaction among four activities: forecasting, planning, decision-making, and action. These activities are not only linked together but are imbedded in each other as follows:

1. Forecasting + planning = Planning process.
2. Forecasting + planning + decision-making = Decision-making process.
3. Forecasting + planning + decision-making + action = Process of rational creative action.

In other words, Jantsch (ibid:33) asserts that forecasting, planning, and decision-making have to be viewed as conformable to human action.

Extending the ideas elaborated for planning by Ozbekhan, Jantsch refers to the above approach as belonging to the "human action model" as opposed to the "mechanistic model".

Ozbekhan in Jantsch (1969:121) describes the "mechanistic model" as being governed by the main and necessary condition that a higher level plan exists in which the goals are set. Means rather than ends are emphasized Ozbekhan continues, and the mechanistic model concentrates on "how to get there" rather than "where should we go".

The "Human Action Model" of planning alternatively, Ozbekhan states (ibid:130), defines and therefore contains within itself the goals toward which it is directed.

The "new" planning deriving from the "Human Action Model" has, according to Jantsch (ibid:34), three essential features which make it radically different from the "old" (non-creative, deterministic and mechanistic) planning. They are:

1. The general introduction of normative thinking and valuation into planning, making it non-deterministic and futures-creative, and placing emphasis on invention through forecasting.
2. The recognition of system design as the central

subject of planning, making it non-linear (that is acting upon structures rather than variables of systems) and simultaneous in its general approach.

and following from the two preceding points:

3. The conception of three levels:

(i) normative or policy planning (the "ought")
(ii) strategic planning (the "can"), and
(iii) operational or tactical planning (the "will) in whose interaction the "new" futures-creative planning unfolds.

Policymaking, Jantsch (ibid:34) insists, is inherently part of a human action model.

Jantsch's systemic innovation process (represented in Figure 1) which culminates in Rational Creative Action, is utilized as his basis for the elaboration of a conceptualization of policymaking said to be consistent with human action.

Under this scheme, the four phases of which are illustrated below, alternative possibilities are conceived and assessed before a decision is made and a specific way to action is pursued.

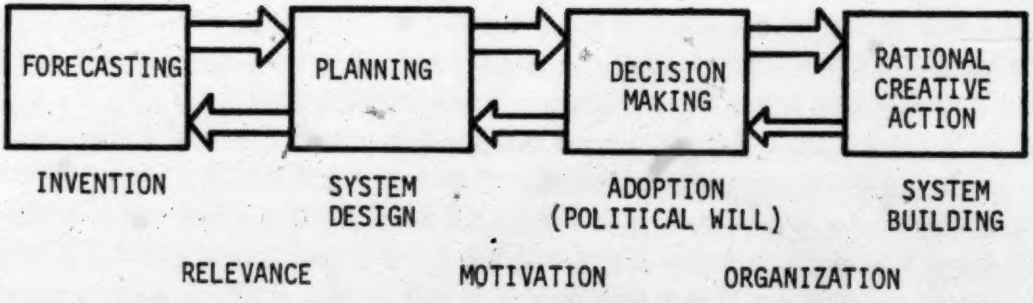

FORECASTING
PLANNING
DECISION MAKING
RATIONAL CREATIVE ACTION
INVENTION
SYSTEM DESIGN
ADOPTION (POLITICAL WILL)
SYSTEM BUILDING
RELEVANCE
MOTIVATION
ORGANIZATION

Figure 1. Systemic innovation process. Jantsch (1970:34)

Jantsch (ibid:35) argues that Ozbekhan's three level structure for planning can be logically extended to the other phases of the systemic innovative process (that is, forecasting, decision-making, and action) and serving, thus elucidating, he claims, the full process of Rational Creative Action.

According to Ozbekhan (ibid:153),

> There are three levels of functional relations between a plan and the environment:
>
> a) Policymaking functions which result in normative planning and are directed toward the search and establishment of new norms that will help define those values which will be more consonant with the problematic environment. In other words, normative planning occurs when the purpose of planning action is to change the value system in order to achieve the required consonance with the environment. The statements of normative planning are derived from values and defined in terms of "oughts".
>
> b) Goal-setting functions which result in strategic plans wherein various alternative ways of attaining the objectives of the normative plan are reduced to those goals which can be achieved given the range of feasibilities involved and the optimum allocation of available resources.
>
> c) Administrative functions which lead to operational planning wherein the strategies that will be implemented are ordered in terms of the priorities, schedules, etc., that the situation dictates. Operational planning is that part of the planning structure in terms of which changes in the environment are effected that are purely of a problem-solving nature. (In other words, operational planning need not involve a consideration of value premises).

The full "new" planning, Jantsch (ibid:35) states, unfolds in the feedback interaction between these three levels while the "old" planning reappears, more or less intact at the tactical or operational level only.

Figure 2, shows Ozbekhan's three level scheme (as adapted by Jantsch) forming the vertical dimension of the model. This three level structure, when applied to the four phases of the systemic innovation process permits, according to Jantsch, an integral view of the structured rationalization of creative action. The aforementioned four phases of the systemic innovation process constitute the horizontal dimension of the model.

In the Jantsch model, the normative character of the process of rational creative action is indicated by the dominant position of norms, which are derived from values.

Policymaking, in this scheme, being concerned with the value system, represents the highest possible level of action and is recognized as fulfilling a guiding function for the entire rational creative action process.

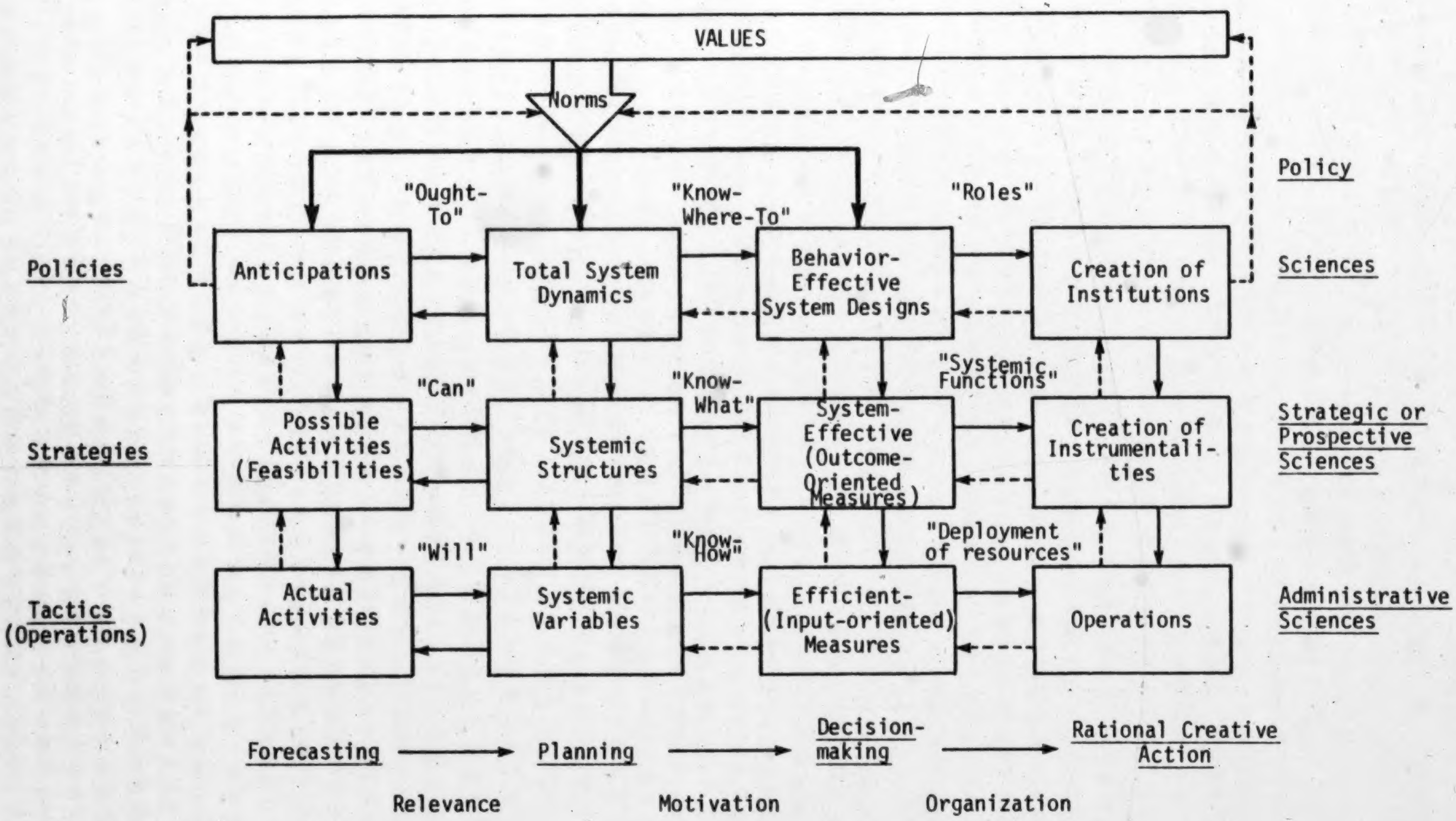

VALUES
Norms
"Ought-To"
"Know-Where-To"
"Roles"
Policy
Policies
Anticipations
Total System Dynamics
Behavior-Effective System Designs
Creation of Institutions
Sciences
"Can"
"Know-What"
"Systemic Functions"
Strategies
Possible Activities (Feasibilities)
Systemic Structures
System-Effective (Outcome-Oriented Measures)
Creation of Instrumentalities
Strategic or Prospective Sciences
"Will"
"Know-How"
"Deployment of resources"
Tactics (Operations)
Actual Activities
Systemic Variables
Efficient-(Input-oriented) Measures
Operations
Administrative Sciences
Forecasting
Planning
Decision-making
Rational Creative Action
Relevance
Motivation
Organization

Figure 2. Structured rationalization of creative action. Jantsch (1970:36)

The four phases of the structured rationalization of creative action (representing the horizontal dimension in Figure 2) are described by Jantsch (ibid:36-38) as follows:

> - Forecasting deals with the invention of anticipations ("intellectively constructed models of possible futures,"...) and of possible (feasible) activities fitting them, and with the probabilistic assessment of (assumed or real) actual activities.
>
>   Interaction among the three levels is by continuous feedback processes (or, at least, multiple interaction), but the downward pointing full arrows are supposed to emphasize the basic normative character of forecasting.
>
>   Forecasting and planning are tied together particularly closely (since creative planning is based on invention through forecasting), and they shape their policy and strategy constructs together in feedback or iterative processes with no really dominating direction.
>
>   These ties may be called relevance, expressed by the same "ought to", "can", and "will", that also characterize Ozbekhan's view of the following levels.
>
> - Planning deals with system design at the levels of total system dynamics, system analysis to define effective changes in system structures (goals), and changes of variables in given system structures.
>
>   The feedback interaction among the three levels is of the same nature as with forecasting.
>
>   Planning provides the information basis, in dynamic terms, for decision-making.
>
>   In a normative framework of rational creative action, planning has to provide for links to decision-making which may be called motivation expressed by the information values of "know where to", "know what", and "know how".....
>
> - Decision-making deals with the recognition, again in a normative way, of system designs

> which can be expected to be effective in changing the dynamics of the system in the direction of preferred anticipations and increased dynamic stability, of system effective measures, ...and of efficient measures to do well what has been decided to do.....
>
> ...Decision-making leads to action by means of organization which focusses at the three levels on the definition of roles..., on systemic function... and on the deployment of resources of a material and non-material nature.....
>
> - Rational Creative Action, finally, deals with the creation of institutions, the creation of their corresponding instrumentalities, and operations within and through these instrumentalities.....

The four vertical columns, that is the activities embedded in the process of rational creative action, do not constitute disciplines in the conventional sense but rather, general instances of human activity which include and make use of various disciplines.

Looking at the horizontal layers as defined by the three levels of policies, strategies, and tactics (or operations), Jantsch (*ibid*:38) observes that

> a) At the policy level, from the horizontal unfolding of the four phases of human activity, a viable conceptual framework for the "policy sciences" is defined. The emphasis at this level is on design or intellective innovation.
>
> b) At the strategic level, a conceptual framework for the "strategic or prospective sciences" is arrived at. The emphasis here is on analysis.
>
> c) At the tactical (operational level), the "management" and "administrative" sciences best describe the activities which take place. The emphasis at this level is on expansion.

The correct logical order of the process of rational creative action as depicted in Figure 2 is to proceed from the left to the right and from the top down.(Jantsch _ibid_:39).

b) _Systems Model of the Political Process_

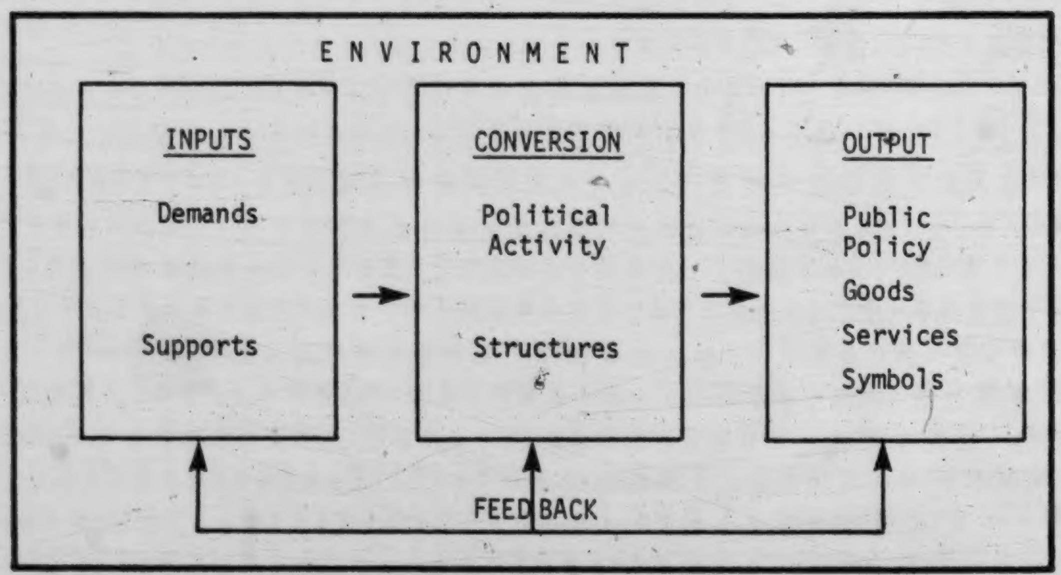
Hall and Fagen's (1956:18) definition of a system is commonly regarded as a classic, it states:

> A system is a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes.

Shoettle in Bauer and Gergen (1968:168) indicates that a system is said to exist when certain properties or their interrelationships vary interdependently and vary within definable limits. Referring to the political system specifically, Easton (1965:50) describes it as a subsystem of the social system which consists of all actions related to making authoritative allocations of values for society. It is, he states the social subsystem peculiarly responsible for goal attainment in the society as a whole.

Hofferbert (1974:143) observes that the systems model is becoming accepted as a common frame of reference in the field of policy studies. Dye (1975:36) concurs, when he indicates that Easton's notion of a political system has been employed, either implicitly or explicitly, by many scolars who have sought to analyse the causes and consequences of public policy. Systems theory, Dye explains, portrays public policy as an output of the political system.

In its most simplified form, the systems model, as described by Hofferbert (*ibid*:143), treats the political system as a dynamic interplay between inputs (demands and supports) from the environment, which are transformed by political processes into some kind of outputs (policies, symbols, and services) which themselves have subsequent consequences (feedback) for inputs and the political process.


ENVIRONMENT
INPUTS
Demands
Supports
CONVERSION
Political Activity
Structures
OUTPUT
Public Policy
Goods
Services
Symbols
FEED BACK

SYSTEMS MODEL OF POLITICAL PROCESS

Figure 3. Based on Hofferbert (1974:143)

Elaborating somewhat on the above summary description of the political system model (see Figure 3), it can be said that the "demands" element of the system input exists when, as Dye referred to in Sharkansky (1970:23) puts it, individuals or groups, in response to perceived environmental conditions, act to promote goals, interests or actions.

Shoettle (ibid:169) describes the "supports" element of the system input as that which provides the political system with resources for conflict resolution. Furthermore, she explains that demands may arise externally, elsewhere in the social system, as major issues of conflict which members of the political system construe as important, or they may arise internally in the political system, through alteration of the political relationships of members. Supports, Shoettle continues, can be generated by the political system, either through providing solutions that meet political demands or through politicizing non-political groups within the social system. Thus inputs provide dynamism in terms of information and energy for the political system.

Dye (ibid:24) states that any system absorbs a variety of often conflicting demands, and in order to transform these demands into outputs (public policies) it must arrange settlements.

Deutsch(1974:194) maintains that deliberation is the chief process by which policy is determined (or settlements reached). In this activity the policymaker is, according to Vickers (1973:108), more than a broker between competing constraints and pressures, since he has his own norms and values which are never quite the same as those moving the critics and advocates. The "deliberation" referred to above by Deutsch, is a continuous process of debate which not only lets each participant promote his own view of reality, but also permits him to adjust his own view of reality and even to change his values as a result of the process.

The conversion process, Shoettle (ibid:171) states, transforms the various inputs through the application of resources within the system, into outputs. This, she states, approximates a specific act of policymaking. The conversion process, Shoettle continues, presupposes a degree of political consensus (a shared value orientation) which enables the authoritative individuals in the system to resolve conflicts and exercise power in the allocation of resources (values). Within this consensus, individual actors with various perceptions of their self-interest and external environment operate in fairly specialized roles according to the accepted rules of the political game.

Outputs of the political system, Shoettle explains, are the decisions and actions (policies) which to an extent satisfy the demands of the system. Having produced outputs, the policymakers can expect the members of the social system at large to respond to them and it is this continuing, never-ending flow of policy, dependent upon feedback, between the political system and society, which approximates the policymaking process.

c) Focus on the Individual

A fairly strong case can be made for concentrating on the participant when studying the policymaking process. Shoettle (*ibid*:151) for instance, places considerable emphasis on the individual in the following three criteria which she proposes for any approach to the policy making process:

1. Demands that the process stress attributes of the individual policymaker and the system in which he operates.
2. Requires that the theory relate variables which intervene between the individual and the system, such as interest group behaviour, role-playing and so on, to the operation of these two basic variables.
3. It focusses attention on how to change or improve the policy product.

Also supporting a focus on the individual, Bauer quoted by Shoettle (*ibid*) states:

> The focus of our concern is first of all to understand the behaviour of the individual -or if not the individual- the smallest meaningful unit of analysis confronted with manifestations of public policy problems.

Studies by Lasswell and Lerner, Dahl and Lindblom, and Braybrook and Lindblom, referred to by Shoettle (*ibid*:150) all examine the individual policymaker as he operates within an ongoing political system.

Sharkansky (1970:11) indicates that the number of studies reported in the literature testifies to the importance attributed to people and institutions as the determinants of public policy.

Hofferbert (*ibid*:226) reports that Zeigler and Bauer accuse Dye and himself of ignoring human behaviour in seeking to explain the correlates of policy outcomes. He clarifies in that respect (p. 231), that the most fruitful strategy for inquiry into the determinants of public policy would be to begin with "elite" behaviours and work backwards through the factors conditioning them. Hofferbert (p. 243) continues that the study of policymakers is necessary

> ... not only in order to expand the amount of variance in public policy outputs for which we can account, but also in order to specify the linkages that account for the variance explained by the socio-economic factors.

Referring to a study by Dye,Hofferbert points out that insofar as his socio-economic indicators are representative of the universe of independent variables, two-thirds of the total variance in policy remains to be accounted for by something other than the indicators used. Without question, he states (p. 226), a clearer conceptualization of the role of influential individuals is necessary.

Stringham (1974) in a case study of public policy in education in Alberta, used Lasswell's "Contextual Mapping" approach to examine in some depth the contributions of participants,mainly as members of interest groups, to the policymaking process.

Korteweg (1972) applied part of the Gergen "Leverage Assessment Technique" to the investigation of the development of the New Social Studies Curriculum in Alberta. In his study, he justified his use of the Gergen model to examine policy retrospectively, on the basis of its purported predictive capability.

For the purposes of this study, in the light of the foregoing discussion, the policymaking process is examined in terms of a transactional model focussing on participants, which in Shoettle's words (ibid:173)"...views all the actors in the situation as exerting continuous influence on each other." It is accepted, in agreement with Bauer in Bauer and Gergen (1968:13) that the bargaining process is at the heart of the policy process.

d) Gergen's "Leverage Assessment Technique"

Gergen's "Leverage" model concentrates on the assessment of the individual participant in the policymaking process in his relation with others, and provides a method for the identification of participants as well as for determining their relative leverage at various stages of the process. The Gergen approach in Bauer and Gergen (1968:182-206) is based on the notions that:

1. A thorough understanding of public policy will ultimately depend on knowledge of participants.
2. Participants differ in what is termed "leverage", (roughly equivalent to "power" and "influence" but without the associated semantic baggage).
3. Participants can be compared along three dimensions relevant to the concept of leverage.

Gergen provided a schema specifying at least a minimal set of parameters to be considered in assessing leverage points, while avoiding oversimplification.

Any individual in society, he states, can be compared along three dimensions relevant to the concept of leverage:

issue relevance, subphase resources, and personal efficacy.

1. Issue Relevance: Persons vary greatly in their relationship to a given public issue, and different issues may impinge on a person in varying degrees. Thus, one can speak of the relevance of a given issue for a given person and compare the relevance of a single issue for different people. An issue will be relevant to an individual to the extent that for him it can potentially modify the status quo, and presumably the greater the relevance of an issue to a person, the greater that person's attempt to exert leverage will be.

2. Subphase Resources: The formation of public policy is seldom, if ever, a single-state process taking place at a single point in time. Between the inception of an idea and its ultimate implementation many events transpire. These events may be conceptualized as overlapping temporal stages, each of which may affect the final outcome of a given issue. Within any stage, a set of resources would give a person leverage in that stage and for each stage an individual could have a varying number of resources.

3. Personal Efficacy: Both dimensions of issue relevance and subphase resources tacitly assume that individuals are substitutable across positions; therefore, equal relevance and equal resources would mean equal leverage. However, Gergen points out that common experience tells us that the efficacy of two such individuals may be highly disparate. There may be a certain personality constellation or set of social capacities that may be highly correlated with a person's effective leverage in certain situations.

The model also possesses certain dynamic characteristics,the consideration of which result in a shift of emphasis from classification to prediction.

> Issue Evaluation: For persons occupying positions of leverage, a policy issue is evaluatively loaded and it is this evaluative component that may largely determine the way in which leverage will be used. Persons tend to be "for" or "against" an issue outcome and this basic attitude may largely determine their behaviour toward the issue.

The addition of the evaluative dimension, Gergen states, allows consideration of three additional issues.

- Potential and Actual Leverage: There is no guarantee that a person, although occupying a strong position of leverage, will actually attempt to utilize his capacities in a particular instance. The more polarized a person's position with respect to a given issue, however, the more likely his leverage will be activated rather than potential. Furthermore, a greater degree of leverage can usually be attributed to persons who maintain polar positions.
- Leverage Configuration: The total configuration of the distribution of leverage among participants can provide valuable information.
- Process through Time: The configuration of leverage appears to be a dynamic phenomenon and hence the formation of public policy might be best characterized as a process with continuously changing features.

Gergen specifies two stages in his technique for the assessment of "leverage":

1. Identification of issues of interest and of the individuals involved in formal positions of leadership. Initial interviews might be conducted with as many of these persons as possible in order to obtain information regarding key issues, individuals involved in the issue areas, and ratings of all nominees on relevant policy phases.
2. Building on the information gathered in the first stage, sub-issues are now more specifically delineated, a complete list of actors having leverage is compiled, and extensive interviews are conducted with each person in the final sample.

The utility of the approach depends to a large extent on the capacity of the interviewer to obtain candid and unbiased responses from the respondents, he states.

e) Expanded Model (Political System and Rational Creative Action models combined)

On the basis of the literature reviewed, the Rational Creative Action model proposed by Jantsch (1970), incorporating the Human Action conceptualization of planning formulated by Ozbekhan in Jantsch (1969), appears to hold some promise of a clearer understanding and explanation of public policy planning in education.

It is contended however that the Rational Creative Action model as presented by Jantsch (*ibid*:36) -see Figure 2- is deficient in that it does not adequately explain how the elements represented at the conjucture of the vertical levels and the horizontal phases came into being. Presumably each such element is the outcome of some "process" (in the systems sense), occurring at a particular level and phase. It is proposed that the "process" in question, can defensibly be represented by a political system model based on Easton's conceptualization as discussed earlier. The "process" so conceived, would convert the inputs available at the intersection of a given level and phase into an output. This output would in effect be the "element" referred to above, brought into being by a political systems process.

By adding this process to the Jantsch model we have the three dimensional model represented in Figure 4 (p.42).

It is further contended that the Gergen technique for the assessment of leverage of participants in the policy

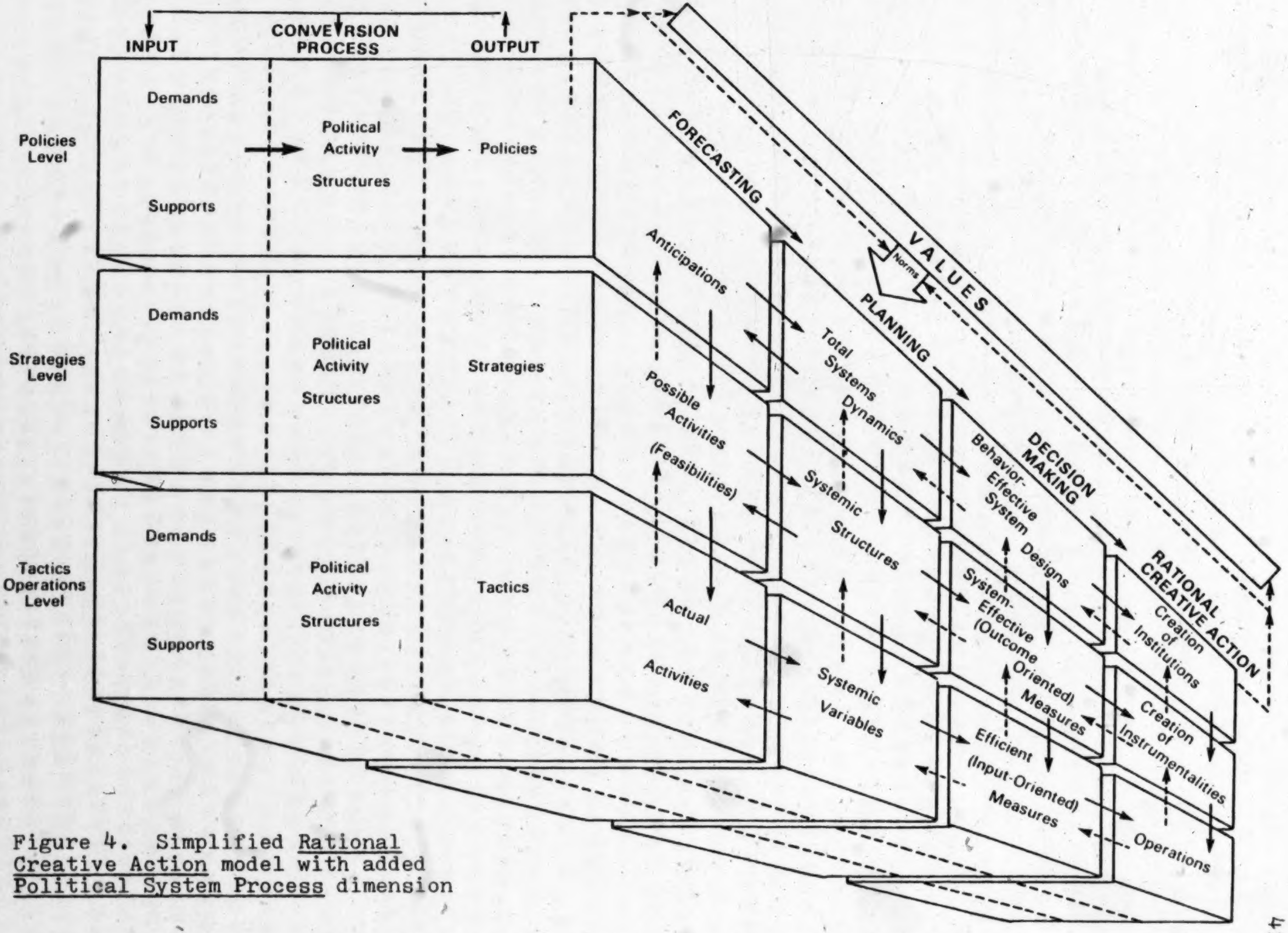

INPUT
CONVERSION PROCESS
OUTPUT
Policies Level
Strategies Level
Tactics Operations Level
Demands
Supports
Political Activity Structures
Policies
Strategies
Tactics
VALUES
Norms
FORECASTING
PLANNING
DECISION MAKING
RATIONAL CREATIVE ACTION
Anticipations
Possible Activities (Feasibilities)
Actual Activities
Total Systems Dynamics
Systemic Structures
Systemic Variables
Behavior-Effective System Designs
System-Effective (Outcome Oriented) Measures
Efficient (Input-Oriented) Measures
Creation of Institutions
Creation of Instrumentalities
Operations

Figure 4. Simplified Rational Creative Action model with added Political System Process dimension

process, is fully compatible with the above-mentioned expanded model.

Summary

In this section, the conceptual framework which undergirds the study has been presented. Since the framework used in the study is founded on the Jantsch "Rational Creative Action" model with the added dimension of a "Systems Model of the Political Process", these two approaches have been discussed.

Next the emphasis to be placed on the individual in the policy formation process has been justified and the Gergen technique for assessing participant leverage has been reviewed.

Finally, the "Expanded Rational Creative Action", model used in the study was briefly explained.

In the following section the specific procedures or methodology for collecting, organizing, analyzing and interpreting data within the parameters of the conceptual framework will be discussed.

Chapter III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. The Case Study Approach

Hofferbert (1974:89) observes that most of the books and articles written about the policy process are case studies. He defines a "case study" as

> ... an in-depth examination of a particular instance of something. ...(it) present (s) a detailed rendition of a particular dynamic instance, that is, in some essential respects, an example of general... behavior.

This is in contrast to an aggregation of characteristics of many instances. A case study tells a story.

Explanatory case studies usually pertain to both the processes of policymaking and the substance of policy itself, the objective being to illuminate the processes by which policies are formed and the forces operating on the behavior of policymakers(*ibid*:133).While explanatory case studies can take many forms they normally have a fairly common format:

> 1. A single public-policy decision... or a set of closely related policy decisions is isolated for investigation.
>
> 2. The case analyst gives a history of the development of policy in the particular area.
>
> 3. Most case studies focus upon political conflict. The investigator attempts to identify the interests and individuals involved in hammering out a policy product. Certain issues are selected because they seem, by some standard or other, to embody "representative" participants in the policy process. Affected interest groups are identified and an effort is made to assess the impact

of their activities.

4. Finally, an attempt is made to reconstruct, within the context of a bargaining model, the attitudes of the participants and the actions they undertook. The various components that are perceived to have been operative in the policymaking process are weighed and their relative effect on the output is gauged and assessed.

Strengths attributed to the case study approach include its richness of detail and the lucidity it can offer in illuminating the dynamics of policymaking - Hofferbert (ibid:138). Case studies also have the potential of generating important hypotheses which can then be tested in different contexts. No other mode of analysis, Hofferbert states, can provide such an appreciation of the psychological dimensions involved and convey so well the consequentiality of symbols in the policy process.

Weaknesses which are characteristic of case studies can be traced to each of the four components of the common format mentioned above. Hofferbert (ibid:139) states that aside from the problem of deciding whether or not a case is representative of the policy process, the problems associated with the selection and the filtering of data also weaken the case study approach. Furthermore, the identification of participants and their respective interests is often arduous. Majone (1975:62) points out that the usual condition in retrospective case studies is that the researcher ignores the real objectives of the policymaker; the policy that has been chosen is known but not the rule by which it was chosen.

Majone expresses doubts that questioning the decision-maker in that regard can produce reliable information despite honorable intentions.

Hofferbert (ibid:93) concludes that despite the problems associated with the case study method, numerous case studies have become standard references because of their insight and obvious relevance in assisting toward an understanding of the policy process.

2. Data Collection

The two major sources of data for the study were: documentary data and interview data.

2.1 Documentary Data

These data were obtained primarily from participant's files in the form of:

- minutes of committee meetings,
- reports,
- position papers and briefs,
- conference proceedings,
- official correspondence,
- memoranda,
- newspaper articles,
- official publications and other documents.

2.2 Interview Data

The interview data were utilized to supplement data collected from documentary sources and also as a means of cross-validation of information. Furthermore, the interview data assisted in interpreting the information gathered.

There were three phases associated with the interview technique:

2.2.1 Determining who to interview

From preliminary interviews with known participants in the policy development process and from an examination of documentary data, people were identified who had participated in the process or were judged to be knowledgeable of some important aspect of it. Furthermore, each person interviewed was asked to indicate others whom he thought should also be interviewed.

In all, fifty-two persons were interviewed (see appendix) with the average length of the interview being approximately ninety minutes. Some key participants were interviewed twice and interviews with all but six persons were recorded on magnetic tape. The interviews not recorded were of the "peripheral" type. Of the forty-six interviews with different people which were recorded, thirty-three were transcribed and subjected to content analysis. The criteria for selecting these were the extent of involvement of the interviewee in the ECS policy development process, and the pertinence to the study of interview data if the interviewee was not identified as a participant.

2.2.2 Constructing and conducting the interview

Following is a rationale for the interview procedures used. It is commonly accepted that the overall purpose of the interview is to gather, through conversation, relevant, valid and reliable information about a topic under investigation (Gorden, 1975:91).

In order to secure the maximum benefit from the knowledge and insights which a respondent possesses and can potentially contribute to the problem being researched, Dexter (1970:5) advocates an approach which he calls "elite interviewing".

In general, "elite interviewing" can encompass any interview design within which the respondent is given "non-standardized" treatment.

More specifically, "elite interviewing" is characterized by the following:

1. stressing the interviewee's definition of the situation,
2. encouraging the interviewee to structure the account of the situation, and
3. letting the interviewee introduce to a considerable extent, his notions of what he regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the investigator's notions of relevance.

Dexter points out that in some instances, well-informed or influential people may be unwilling to accept the assumptions (and sometimes quite justifiably so) with which the investigator starts. Such respondents will insist on explaining from the perspective of their own terms of reference, how they view the situation and what the "real" problems are. This, according to Dexter, is to be encouraged and the interview format should be designed to accommodate it.

In "elite interviewing" an unexpected response, an exception, a deviation from the typical viewpoint or an unusual interpretation is not summarized and neutralized in some statistical aggregating process. Rather, such non-standard responses may suggest a revision, a reinterpretation or an extension of the format being utilized.

It cannot be assumed that the information communicated by particular respondents or categories of respondents is all equally important. The threefold test of comprehensibility,plausibility and consistency is applied in instances where incongruencies appear in the information generated in order to determine whether what the deviants say is to be believed, rather than what the majority says.

The interviewer, in the "elite interviewing" approach, is not merely interested in finding out what happened or who said what, Dexter (1970:141) stresses, but also in discovering to the extent possible the full meaning of what took place. The interpretation of the event within the context of the prevailing circumstances along with an elaboration of its implications and ramifications is also considered to be important.

Gorden, in his revised edition of Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques and Tactics (1975:61), describes an approach referred to as "Standardized nonscheduled interviewing" which appears to correspond quite closely to the spirit of Dexter's concept of "elite interviewing".

In Gorden's terms, a "nonstandardized" interview is one which does not pose all of the same questions to all respondents, yet he does not necessarily so classify the nonscheduled interview. To meet the requirements of a standardized interview however, the nonscheduled interview must be supplemented by a procedure such as content analysis of the responses. This would in effect "standardize", *a posteriori*, the information gathered.

The completely nonscheduled standardized interview, Gorden (1975:62) states, is one "in which the interviewer is guided only by a central purpose and must decide for himself the means to be utilized in attaining the stated purpose." Unlike the highly scheduled interview, it does not rule out accidental findings which might be relevant.

Defending the use of the nonscheduled interview,Gorden argues that there are several situations (for example, when recollection is poor) where the nonscheduled interview would provide the means for yielding more valid information if done by a skillful interviewer, than the scheduled interview. He furthermore challenges (*ibid*:73) the argument sometimes heard that the use of the nonscheduled interview is dangerous because the interviewer is free to bias the responses. This, Gorden claims, is true only if unskilled, careless or dishonest interviewers are used. To be overly concerned with such exterior aspects as neatness of format, efficiency of coding,or reliability of response all of which typically characterize the scheduled interview, can be severely dysfunctional if it is done at the expense of the critical criterion of validity of the responses.

Gorden (1975:74) explains that the interviewer, when using a nonscheduled interview approach, is not engaging in a completely unplanned trial-and-error activity. Quite the contrary, the topics being explored or the dimensions being measured, should be defined as clearly as possible.

An "interview guide" (roughly the equivalent of Dexter's (1970:83) "interview plan") should be prepared to help direct the interview process toward the specified objectives of the interview.

In contrast to the "interview schedule" which emphasizes the complete and precise means of gathering information, the "interview guide" emphasizes the goals of the interview in terms of the topics to be explored and the criteria with which to judge the relevance and adequacy of responses (Gorden 1975:414).

The"interview guide"thus provides the interviewer with a conceptual map of the content area to be covered and a convenient way of recording the progress of an interview.

In actual practice, Gorden admits, the plans made by the interviewer may fall somewhere in between the "interview guide" and the "interview schedule".

The importance of flexibility and responsiveness to the dynamic environment of the discovery-oriented interview situation is underlined by both Dexter and Gorden.

Dexter (1970:50) maintains that the great advantage of "elite interviewing" is that the interviewer can adapt his comments and questions to the unfolding interaction between himself and the interviewee.

In a similar vein, Gorden (1975:92) stresses that the interviewer must be constantly alert and ready to modify his own behaviour in a way that will maximize the flow of relevant and valid information. To do this, Gorden continues, the interviewer must clearly understand the objectives of the interview, observe the behaviour of the respondent, and be aware of his own behaviour as it influences the respondent.

The interview procedures advocated by Dexter and by Gorden were those utilized in this study in the belief that they might yield relevant, valid and reliable responses to the research problems identified.

2.2.3 Processing and interpreting the interview data

The interview data were analyzed in the same manner as the documentary data. This is described below.

3. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data collected were examined relative to the research problems stated for the study and analyzed within the framework of the "Expanded Rational Creative Action" model. Furthermore, the Gergen technique for assessing participant leverage was utilized to assist in the interpretation of participant interactions.

All data were subjected to content analysis to extract information relevant to the policy development process as well as information pertaining to the context within which the policies evolved.

Content analysis is defined by Holsti (1969:14) as

> any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.

Content analysis requires that a suitable unit of content be defined in order to classify the relevant content into such categories as have been constructed to reflect the research problems. The "theme", a single assertion about a subject was judged to be an appropriate unit of content for this study (Holsti, _ibid_: 116).

The above was undertaken in an effort to construct retrospectively as accurately and as meaningfully as possible the process of policy development for the Alberta Early Childhood Services Program.

4. Validity and Reliability

Since the study did not rely on statistical data or the statistical analysis of data, the usual tests of validity and reliability do not apply.

Every effort was made however, to cross-validate and ensure the reliability of information through the use of multiple and varied data sources as suggested by Webb _et al_. (1966:3-5) in what he refers to as a triangulation process. Any incongruencies in information were noted and probed.

The chronological overview of events leading to Early Childhood Services in Alberta was validated by a committee appointed by the Government of Alberta E.C.S. Evaluation Steering Committee.

Chapter IV

CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF EVENTS

In this chapter a chronological overview of events leading to Early Childhood Services in Alberta is presented.

An attempt has been made to follow the evolution of positions on early childhood education within the major interest groups involved, in parallel to the development taking place within government.

The overview has been partitioned into six periods which, despite some overlapping, appear to correspond to important steps leading to the establishment of the Early Childhood Services program in Alberta.

1. Early Beginnings

Alberta's first kindergarten dates back to the early years of the century in Lethbridge.[1]

In 1912, the Edmonton Public School Board established kindergartens in the Collegiate, Oliver, and McCauley schools. Over the next three years, ten more classes were established in five different schools, with another two being opened in 1920.

In 1921, however, this program was abandoned as a result of a Board motion to this effect.[2]

In the South Calgary area, in or prior to 1919, a commercial kindergarten was started by Margaret Potts.[3]

In 1939, still in Calgary, the "Tom Thumb Kindergarten" for underpriviledged children was founded. This project known mainly to the people immediately involved in its operation grew out of a voluntary social service by a group of young women (the Calgary Stagette Club) interested in the welfare of some of the less fortunate little children in the city of Calgary.[4] Operated in the James Shortt School to serve the downtown area where playground space was scarce, the Tom Thumb Kindergarten employed a certified teacher (from Calgary Normal School) whose salary was paid by the Calgary Stagette Club.

2. Publicly-Funded Kindergartens in the Calgary School System

After a period of approximately one year, being no longer able to finance the project, the Stagette Club requested the Calgary Public School Board to assume responsibility for its operation. It was thus that in September of 1941, the first kindergarten class under the jurisdiction of the Calgary Public School Board was opened, providing accommodation for approximately fifty children in two half-day classes. In 1944, a second kindergarten under Board sponsorship was opened, this one being located at Ramsay School.[5]

Board policy which governed kindergartens from that point through June of 1953 was:that kindergarten classes would be opened in schools wherever above-ground classroom space was not required for regular grade school work at any time during the school term. This was conditional upon enrollment being sufficient to justify the kindergarten class.[6] All new elementary schools built during that period made provisions for a specially designed and equipped kindergarten. Funding came from Provincial Government grants which were diverted to finance the classes.

By 1947 the Calgary Public School Board had twelve kindergartens organized in its district and the Board was referred to as "leading the way in Western Canada in the field of kindergarten work operated by school boards".[7] The same year it was announced that a summer school course for kindergarten teachers would be offered in Edmonton, whereas previously, the only such course available was in Toronto.[8]

On November 19, 1951, the Calgary Herald carried an editorial deploring the fact that kindergarten classes had been cancelled in some schools to make way for older students. The editorial agreed that the Calgary Public School Board did not, under the School Act, have to provide kindergartens but it charged, however, that the present policy was most unfair in that it provided kindergarten classes in some districts and not in others. It urged the Board to review this policy and weigh the educational merits of providing schooling opportunities for young children from four-and-a-half-years to six years of age against those of providing expensive technical and vocational education to high school students (also non-obligatory under the School Act).[9]

In the spring of 1953, the Department of Education notified the Calgary Public School Board that grants being applied to support the operation of kindergarten classes, would be discontinued. These grants were actually to have stopped at the end of the 1953 term but it was agreed to have them continued until the end of the 1953-54 school year since plans to operate kindergartens for that period had already been made.[10]

In the face of the situation where funds hitherto utilized to finance the kindergarten classes would be eliminated, the Calgary Public School Board established a committee to investigate and report on the kindergarten situation.

The committee recommended:

> ... that the Board withdraw from direct operation of Kindergartens, but that it give assistance to any local Home and School Association willing to operate a community Kindergarten in accordance with stipulated requirements of the Board.

The requirements referred to by the committee pertained to classroom accommodation, program to be followed and teacher qualification. Assistance to be provided by the Board was to be by way of providing program outlines, suggestions for materials and equipment and supervisory service.[11]

Because of the limited information concerning the effects of kindergartens in the Calgary System, CPSB Guidance Supervisor, Dr. C. Safran was asked to undertake a study to provide such information. The Safran findings, in summary, point to the superiority of kindergarten children over non-kindergarten children in Grade I in reading, arithmetic and final grades as well as socially. From Grades II to IV however, these differences were found to be only minimal and beyond Grade IV the kindergarten child was indistinguishable from the non-kindergarten child.[12]

In the meantime, at its 1953 convention, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations voiced its support for the principle of kindergartens through resolutions asking for kindergarten rooms.[13]

During the 1953-54 school year, the Calgary Public School Board employed eleven kindergarten teachers to serve some six hundred and forty students in twenty-two kindergarten classes.

In the spring of 1954 the Calgary Public School Board made known its decision to withdraw from the operation of kindergartens. Although cancellation of government funding applicable to kindergartens was cited as the immediate and most important reason for this decision,[14] three other factors were identified as also being contributory causes: shortage of kindergarten teachers, shortage of space and the findings of the Safran report.[15]

While announcing its withdrawal from direct operation of kindergarten classes, the Calgary Public School Board offered to make available consultative and supervisory assistance to any community group or organization interested in operating non-profit kindergarten classes. In schools, where there were vacant rooms, these were made available for use by non-profit Community Kindergartens at a nominal rate. The Community Kindergartens in turn collected a fee (such as approximately five dollars per child per month) to offset operating expenses.[16]

3. Community Kindergarten Movement

As a result of the Calgary Public School Board decision, some fifteen community kindergartens were organized (not including private kindergartens) the majority of which were Home and School Association projects using the Calgary Public School Board approved curriculum. These community kindergartens were required to obtain a license to operate from the city of Calgary and to pass inspections from the health,fire, sanitary, wiring and town planning departments in order to qualify.[17]

Even during the time that the Calgary Public School Board was operating kindergartens in some districts, parents in certain districts without them decided to organize their own. Having formed informal associations, they acquired space (usually in a church hall), hired a teacher and started a kindergarten, charging a low monthly fee to cover expenses. At the time the Calgary Public School Board decided to discontinue their kindergarten program, there were seven of the community kindergartens in operation.[18]

In 1955 provincial legislation governing kindergarten classes in Alberta was contained in the School Act which stated:

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>
> 1) A board may establish kindergarten classes in a school to teach and train children between the ages of four to six years according to kindergarten methods and may make regulations concerning

the operation of these classes.

2) The board may charge a fee for kindergarten classes not exceeding two dollars per month for each pupil, on account of the cost of maintaining the classes.

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Where kindergarten classes are conducted -
a) in a school under the direction of a board; or
b) in any other place under the direction of any other person or persons; no person shall be engaged or employed to teach and train the children in such classes unless he holds qualifications approved by the Minister of Education.

There were no provisions for public funding.[19] The Department of Education had very few regulations concerning kindergartens. Among these regulations it was stated that a kindergarten school could be operated by private persons provided that the quarters used as classrooms were roomy and bright and that the teacher qualifications were approved by the Minister of Education (not necessarily an Alberta Teacher's Certificate).[20]

At the Alberta School Trustees' Association convention in 1955, the Minister of Education, Dr. W.H. Swift corrected the misunderstanding that "Kindergarten Grants" had been cancelled. He explained that the grants paid by the Department of Education over a number of years (mainly to Calgary schools) and used to fund kindergarten classes, had never been "Kindergarten Grants" according to official records. School boards had been reporting the kindergarten classes as Grade I classes in order to obtain the money.[21]

At the same convention the Calgary Public School

Board put forward a resolution calling for provincial government grants to support kindergartens wherever school boards wished to institute them. While this resolution was favoured by the urban section, it was defeated when put before the full convention combining both the urban and rural sections of the ASTA (Alberta School Trustees' Association).[22]

Also in 1955 the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations passed a resolution calling for a curriculum for kindergartens.[23]

In February of 1956 a Calgary Public School Board Committee reported that kindergartens could not be established in Calgary on a city-wide basis for the 1956-1957 school term because of a shortage of qualified kindergarten teachers and an even greater shortage of space for kindergarten classes.[24]

In the spring of that year in Edmonton, the Alberta Home and School Associations convention assembling delegates from Home and School Associations from all over the province, narrowly defeated a motion calling for provincial government grants for kindergartens.[25]

In 1956 the Calgary Council of Home and School Association expressed the view that community kindergartens, now numbering twenty-six, were serving a useful purpose in helping to fill the gaps until such time as kindergartens were reinstated in the schools.[26]

In 1957 the Alberta Federation of Home and School

Associations passed a resolution calling for kindergarten rooms.[27]

In its brief to the Cameron Commission in 1958, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations recommened that kindergartens be established for children five years of age.[28] Also in a brief submitted to the Alberta Royal Commission on Education (the Cameron Commission) in April 1958, the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta recommended that provision be made in the Faculty of Education for the preparation of teachers for kindergarten.[29]

The value of a sound type of kindergarten experience, the brief stated, is well recognized.[30]

Reflecting on the kindergarten situation in Alberta, the Faculty of Education brief commented:

> Since the kindergartens in Alberta are operated either commercially or by welfare organizations and few definite standards have to be met by teachers, the programs offered show wide variation in the quality of the direction and in the activities provided.

The brief recommended that kindergartens be established under the direction of the Department of Education in order to improve coordination with Grade I.[31]

In 1959 the Calgary Community Kindergarten movement was described as flourishing, thriving only on the interest and initiative of parents. There were in operation at that time, thirty-one such kindergartens in Calgary, serving some one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pre-school children, somewhat less than half of the children eligible to enter Grade I the following year.

A primary assistant whose specific responsibilities included supervision of the community kindergartens had been hired by the Calgary Public School Board. The Board's interest in providing this assistance, apart from its desire to promote and coordinate what was considered to be a worthwhile educational endeavor, stemmed also from the fact that they would get the children in Grade I the following year, and their wish to ensure that the kindergarten program in no way infringed upon the Grade I curriculum.[32]

Realizing that the cost of sending children to community kindergarten was not affordable for certain families, the Calgary Council of Home and School Associations repeatedly asked the Provincial Government to make possible the reintegration of kindergartens in the public school system.

The Cameron Report, released in 1959, quoted directly from the Alberta Teachers' Association brief which stressed the merits of kindergarten classes as a means of ensuring readiness for Grade I. The Cameron Report recognized that problems would be encountered in the introduction of kindergartens throughout the province but the absence of such classes was a serious omission of educational effort. It recommended ..."serious study to devise ways of incorporating kindergartens as an integral part of public schools".[33]

This recommendation was not acted upon by the government because of being deeply involved in providing classrooms for the increasing elementary school enrollment throughout the province. Furthermore, it was felt at that time that kindergartens were mainly an urban need.[34]

During the 1960-61 school year, the Community Kindergarten movement in Calgary had expanded to eighty-two classes with an enrollment of some 2,483 pupils.[35]

In early 1961 in Edmonton, a Committee of the Edmonton Council of Home and School Associations under the chairmanship of the Council's vice-president Dr. A. H. Laycock, prepared a paper describing the status of kindergartens in the Edmonton area and made a strong plea for the re-establishment of kindergartens under the Edmonton Public School Board. Referring to the Edmonton situation, the paper contended that only a few kindergartens had fully qualified teachers and many of their supervisors had no training. Most were badly housed and equipped, the paper continued, and some were doing more damage than good. "There is almost no inspection, supervision or limitation of teaching under unsuitable conditions by City or Provincial agencies," the paper said.

It was noted that the Edmonton Separate School Board did provide some advisory service and a few surplus classrooms to church-operated kindergartens, most of which had qualified teachers.

Referring to a recent survey conducted by the Toronto Board of Education, the paper pointed out that of twenty urban centres polled across Canada, only Calgary and Edmonton did not have school kindergartens.

In conclusion, the paper envisaged little prospect of having kindergartens re-established in Edmonton schools within the next few years because of insufficient interest expressed for it, the unavailability of Provincial funding, and the shortage of qualified teachers. Indicating that there might be changes in this picture in the next five years, the Edmonton Council of Home and School Associations Committee suggested interim measures which would cost little to the taxpayer: community kindergartens similar to those in Calgary, improved inspection and supervision of private kindergartens along with assistance and encouragement from School Boards.[36]

It was shortly thereafter that the impact of regulations deriving from legislation passed during the 1960 session of the Legislature, was felt. An amendment to the Child Welfare Act had removed the authority for the licensing of nursery schools and kindergartens from the jurisdiction of the cities and assigned it to the provincial Department of Welfare.

The new regulations required one staff member for every twelve children of the ages five and six, or one for fifteen if there are more than twenty enrolled.[37] Calgary Public School Board Superintendent, R. Warren, said that the reduced class size would "kill kindergartens".[38] Speaking in the Throne Speech debate in the Provincial Legislature, Opposition Leader Watkins condemned the new law as "unnecessary and undesirable", and stated that a great deal of confusion had been created. Watkins argued that a good system had been operating in Calgary and that there was no desire for change.[39] It was said that the regulations had been brought about principally because of conditions in some nursery schools in Edmonton which lacked adequate supervision and were described as firetraps.[40]

Later, D.W. Rogers, Deputy Welfare Minister observed that the problems being raised concerned the Education Department more than Public Welfare and that a meeting between representatives of the two departments had been arranged to try to resolve the problems.[41]

Briefs were prepared by a number of operators and sent to Calgary members of the legislature and the provincial Welfare Minister.[42] In a letter to the Department of Education, Mrs. R.V. McCullough, representing the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations called for an examination of the whole question of licensing, operation and inspection of kindergartens and adopted the position that in the meantime the educative function of both public and private kindergartens remain under the control of the educational authorities.[43]

In June of 1961, the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, presented a brief to a special kindergarten committee of the Department of Education, entitled Kindergarten Education and the Preparation of Teachers to express its position about the purpose, place and value of kindergarten education and to relate this to the preparation of kindergarten teachers.

The brief stressed the importance of close articulation of the kindergarten program and the elementary program. Such articulation, it argued, was most likely to occur if the kindergarten program were an integral part of the local school system.

Advocating a preparation program for prospective kindergarten teachers, based on the premise that basic teacher education should precede specialized study, the brief stated that such a program had been taking shape in recent years and a number of specialized courses for kindergarten-primary had been made available to third and fourth year students in the elementary route of the Bachelor of Education degree program.

Looking ahead, the University of Alberta Faculty of Education brief identified four major factors which would likely determine whether or not kindergartens would become an integral part of the Alberta school system:

> 1. The views of those in positions of educational leadership regarding the purposes, place and values of kindergartens.
> 2. The provisions that are made for the expenditure of public monies in support of kindergartens.
> 3. The availability of qualified teachers with special training in kindergarten education.
> 4. The demand from the school's various sub-publics for kindergartens. 44

Also in 1961 the School Foundation Program Fund was introduced in Alberta. Its primary purpose was to provide every school jurisdiction with sufficient revenue regardless of its fiscal capacity, to achieve a minimum defined standard of education.[45]

In early August of 1962 a Cabinet decision (Order in Council 1198/62) transferred jurisdiction for privately operated kindergartens in Alberta from the Welfare Department to the Education Department.[46] Dr. R.E. Rees, Director of Special Education Services indicated that there would be an improved curriculum for kindergartens and that the department would conduct inspections of accredited privately-owned kindergartens under Alberta's education system. Under this legislation the curriculum and instruction was subject to supervision by the Department of Education but the maintenance of all other standards remained a responsibility of the Department of Welfare.[47] According to the new regulations, the basic purpose of kindergartens was "to initiate an educational program designed to promote the intellectual, social, emotional and physical growth of the child".[48] Responsibility for supervision and inspection of kindergartens was assigned to two Superintendents-at-large: E.G. McDonald in Edmonton and C.M. Laverty in Calgary.[49]

When asked if the move was a prelude to incorporating kindergarten in the overall system receiving provincial grants under the School Foundation Program, Dr. W.H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education, replied that no such inference should be drawn.[50]

Reacting to the Government announcement, an editorial entitled "Teach, Don't Baby-Sit" appeared in the Edmonton Journal. The editorial welcomed the new kindergarten policy and expressed satisfaction that the Department of Education had set standards, would conduct inspections and had established "an approved curriculum". To be of any value to the child, the editorial argued that kindergartens must be much more than the "glorified baby-sitting bureaus", they must teach, not merely entertain.[51]

In Calgary, Calgary Public School Board Chairman, Harvey Bliss indicated that the transfer of jurisdiction would not affect the privately run community kindergartens in Calgary to any extent. He expressed doubt that the change in legislation would lead to Department of Education grants to kindergartens, but added that the new leadership in that field from the Department of Education should help kindergartens get started in other parts of the province.[52]

In mid-October of 1962, Edmonton Public School Board Superintendent W.P. Wagner presented a report to the Board concerning the status of kindergarten education. While finding qualified staff was acknowledged as a problem in introducing kindergartens, the main problem was said to be one of cost. Acceptance of kindergartens as a mutual responsibility of both the local and provincial governments was seen as a necessary first step. In conclusion, Superintendent Wagner stated: "it would not be desirable to establish kindergartens in the Edmonton Public Schools under present conditions."[53]

Also in 1963, the Department of Education released its Kindergarten Manual prepared by its "Kindergarten Committee". This manual was to serve as a guide for kindergarten classes for the next ten years.[54]

The terms of reference for the committee were:

> to present overall concepts of a kindergarten program for inspectors, community groups, and teachers in organizing and establishing kindergartens throughout the province.

One major objective was to prevent undesirable infringement of the kindergarten programs of private schools on that of the public school program in Grade I. Generally the manual's contents were directed to teachers in private kindergartens.[55]

In June of 1964, in an article appearing in the Edmonton Journal, Edmonton private kindergarten teacher Pearl Turner, spoke out against the kindergarten situation: "Grave harm is being done where so much good is possible", she stated. Edmonton playschools are encroaching on the educational field, she contended, and parents are forced to send their children to playschools because the kindergartens available are either too few in number or inadequate, or they cannot afford the fees that private schools must charge to do the job well.

"Let's stop the dabbling in the kindergarten field,...,
Pearl Turner wrote, "...it is time for all concerned to

work toward putting kindergarten classes in their proper places in the school system".[56]

In October 1964, Inspector of Schools, Earl McDonald, responsible for kindergartens in the Edmonton urban area observed concerning kindergarten accommodation standards, that enforcing these would close up all but three or four kindergartens.[57]

Also in 1964, the University of Alberta, (Calgary) introduced its first full course for the preparation of kindergarten teachers.[58]

4. The Early Childhood Education Movement

At the 1964 Alberta School Trustees' Association Convention in Calgary on November 2, Dr. W.H. Worth, then Chairman of the Elementary Education Department of the Faculty of Education of the University of Alberta, addressed the urban section delegates on the topic "The Critical Years".

The "Critical Years" hypothesis was defined by Worth as follows:[59]

> the kinds of experiences that a child has in the early years are the major determiners of his subsequent school career.

It was based on the ideas set forth in a publication by Bloom that same year. From this hypothesis, Worth evolved six propositions and drew implications for new action and procedures. The first such implication for change called for the downward extension of services by regular school systems to accommodate children under six years of age.

Following the 1964 ASTA convention, Dr. Worth's address also appeared in some educational periodicals and he was invited to speak to several groups on the topic.

Also at the 1964 convention, Dr. E.J.M. Church, Assistant Director of Elementary Curriculum with the Department of Education stated that publicly supported kindergartens would come about when the public demands it. "There are two forces for education, ..." Dr. Church said, "the pull of professional opinion and the push of public opinion."[60]

Sufficient interest was generated concerning kindergartens that a special committee was formed to study the integration and articulation of pre-school education.[61] In a meeting with that special committee in March 1965, the ASTA Urban Executive commissioned Dr. Worth to:

> prepare a plan to examine existing research on early childhood education and determine the applicability of the research to Alberta. 62

A plan for a three phase study was subsequently approved.

In March 1965, following news of a course being added to the kindergarten teacher training program at the U of A, the Deputy Minister of Education made it clear that this was not an indication of government plans regarding kindergartens.[63]

In Edmonton, in April 1965, the Edmonton Separate School Board decided to allow the three kindergartens which had been brought into the system as a result of the amalgamation with Jasper Place, to continue to operate provided that a minimum of twenty students enrol and that classroom space could be spared. Fees were to be collected to pay the teachers.[64]

At about the same time the Calgary Separate School Board agreed that primary classes for children under six years of age as of January 31, 1966 should be established in selected schools for the 1965-66 school year, and that a fee be assessed for each child unless funds became available from the School Foundation Program Fund or from current finance.[65]

In May 1965 in Edmonton, a research report presented to the Edmonton Public School Board on planning and design of elementary schools stated that provision of space and equipment for kindergartens would have to be a consideration in designing new buildings. Commenting on the report, Edmonton Public School Board Superintendent, Peter Bargen indicated that the researchers merely spotted a trend toward kindergartens in public and professional opinion. He pointed out that the Edmonton Public School Board didn't even have an experimental kindergarten.[66]

On May 13, the Edmonton Journal featured an editorial concerning kindergartens in which they asked the question: "Is the department of education asleep at the switch?"

Referring to the Edmonton Public School Board report, the editorial argued that cost notwithstanding, kindergartens would come to Alberta schools. Said the Journal:

> Home and School groups tend to favour

> them. So do professional educators. School board candidates favouring them get elected. Parents impatient with the lack of properly-run public kindergartens, increasingly are turning to private and volunteer organizations.

"It is high time", the editorial concluded "that the provincial government exercise initiative and provide public funding."[67]

On June 11, 1965 in Calgary, it was announced that the Calgary Public School Board had approved a Kindergarten-Early Primary experimental program to be operated in the R.B. Bennett School in Bowness starting in September. The program was partially financed by the Principals' Leadership Program.[68]

In July, Edmonton City Council passed a motion requesting the Union of Alberta Municipalities to study the possibility of having the provincial government make provision for public funding of kindergartens under its School Foundation Program Fund.[69]

In October, the Union of Alberta Municipalities, despite the request from the Edmonton City Council, asked the Alberta Government not to include kindergartens in the school system.[70]

In October of 1965 the Alberta Council of Women meeting in Red Deer passed a resolution asking that the provincial government make funds available for the establishment of kindergarten classes within the school system. Council members agreed that pre-school training is particularly beneficial for handicapped and culturally deprived children.[71]

At the 1965 Annual Convention of the Alberta School Trustees' Association on November 30, Dr. W.H. Worth presented a progress report on the early childhood education study sponsored by the Urban Section of the ASTA. The central and integrative purpose of the study, Worth stated "is to discover ways and means of upgrading early childhood education in Alberta schools". He pointed out that research could not prove or disprove the benefits to be derived from early childhood education and that in the final analysis it would have to be judged on the basis of educational goals and social and personal values.[72]

In March 1966, Earl McDonald, Superintendent responsible for kindergartens in the Edmonton area, recommended a tightening-up of procedures regarding the granting of permission to teach kindergartens by non-teachers in order to upgrade the level of qualification for kindergarten teachers.[73]

The fact that in Calgary most of the kindergartens were, at that time, staffed by qualified teachers was explained by Mr. McDonald as being partly due to the involvement of the Calgary Public School Board in their operation and partly also because Calgary didn't have the playschool competition.[74]

At the Edmonton Council of Home and School Associations Conventions held at the beginning of April 1966, a resolution was passed calling for the establishment of kindergartens as part of the school system. As a result a meeting was arranged by the Home and School in June, bringing together representatives of the two Edmonton School Boards, Mr. Earl McDonald from the Department of Education and also a representative from the University of Alberta Faculty of Education.[75] At the meeting there was "an agreement in principle of the obvious advantages of pre-school education", Home and School president Swann said.[76]

On November 8, 1966, at a general session the Alberta School Trustees' Association Annual convention in Calgary, Before Six: A Report on the Alberta Early Childhood Education Study was presented. Originating as a result of the 1964 convention and sponsored by the Urban Section of the ASTA, the study had been carried out by Dr. W.H. Worth, Professor and Head of the Department of Elementary Education, University of Alberta with the assistance of Professor W.F. Fagan and Dr. Ethel M. King.

Whereas the study as initially planned was to include three phases, the report Before Six dealt only with the first phase which analysed current theory, research and practice in the education of children aged four to six and sought to determine its relevance for Alberta. Attention was focussed mainly upon kindergarten education in Canada and the United States for this analysis.

Interpreting the research evidence reviewed in Section II of the report, Worth et al. stated that the effect of kindergarten and nursery school experience was not clear cut: conflicting and inconclusive findings had been found. Yet, it was quite significant, the report stated, that any evidence of better achievement by children having attended nursery schools and kindergartens had been found at all. With every child being subjected to the same program in elementary school, regardless of his previous experience, it could have been expected that any long term effect would have been completely obliterated.

Concerning pre-school facilities in Alberta, Worth observed that the vast majority were located in Calgary and Edmonton but that kindergartens were also in operation in at least twenty other centres throughout Alberta. Grande Prairie Public School Board was operating six of the seven public kindergartens in Alberta at that time.

The conclusions reached in the study included the following:

- Opportunities for schooling before age six at public expense in Alberta is vastly inferior to those provided elsewhere.
- There is widespread support for early childhood education in Alberta.
- Early childhood education should be an integral part of schooling.

The findings and conclusions of the study gave rise to the thirteen recommendations among which were:

- That school services be extended downward to include five-year-olds on a voluntary basis as an integral part of the educational system in Alberta.
- That the provincial government provide financial support for kindergartens. 77

In his address to the ASTA convention, Worth asserted that the central conclusion of the study was unmistakenly clear -

"Alberta needs publicly-supported kindergartens".[78]

Later during the convention, two resolutions pertaining to kindergartens were carried with very slim margins:

> ... that the Alberta School Trustees' Association request the Provincial Government to support kindergartens under the School Foundation Program Fund.[79]

and

> ... that boards not able to organize kindergarten services be granted equivalent funds for regular school instructional use.

A few days after the ASTA convention, the Edmonton Journal featured an editorial calling on the government to devise a coherent policy of kindergarten education in Alberta, despite all the other costly educational programs now underway. As a stop gap measure the Journal editorial suggested lowering the voluntary school attendance age to five years. Referring to the ASTA resolutions and the Worth study as examples of the increasing support for kindergartens, the editorial stated that at last the issue of publicly-supported kindergartens now directly faced a reluctant Department of Education.[80]

In a brief by the Alberta School Trustees' Association to the Legislative Council and Department of Education, dated December 20, 1966, the two resolutions were formally made known to the government.[81]

On November 19, 1966, the inaugural conference for the Alberta Teachers' Association Early Childhood Education Council (ATA ECE) was held in Red Deer. The keynote speaker, Dr. B. Spodek from the University of Illinois, a recognized authority in the field of early childhood education, advocated the integration of kindergartens within the framework of the public education system.[82]

Also at the ATAECE Council Inaugural Conference, Welfare Minister R.C. Halmrast explained that Alberta's new Preventive Social Measures Act allowed for kindergartens to be established for "culturally deprived" children as a Preventive Social Service and hence be eligible for 80 percent financing from the Provincial Government.[83]

In mid-February 1967, the Calgary Public School Board obtained funding for the four pre-school readiness experimental classes which had been operating since September 1966. The provincial Welfare Department absorbed 80 percent of the cost while the city of Calgary, through its Preventive Social Services section, paid the remaining 20 percent.[84] At the end of February, the Calgary Public School Board approved another five such classes conditional upon similar funding arrangements being available.[85]

The question of the "fairness" of providing pre-school opportunities to only a particular group of children was raised in a Calgary Herald editorial. The Calgary Herald also chided the board for resorting to such meaningless jargon as "pre-primary readiness" classes instead of using the straightforward expression "kindergarten".[86]

At the end of March 1967, the Alberta Teachers' Association held its Annual Representative Assembly in Edmonton. Since the 1965 Annual Representative Assembly, Alberta Teachers' Association locals, consultants, and a special "ad hoc" committee on Long-Range Plans as well as the Alberta Teachers' Association Executive Council, had been involved in preparing long-range plans for the Association.[87] As a result, a number of resolutions were formulated and brought before the 1967 Annual Representative Assembly for study and debate. The resolutions, approved by the Assembly, were intended to serve as long-range policies for the ATA until 1975.[88]

The following resolutions pertaining to kindergartens were approved:

- That in order to enable all school systems to initiate kindergartens for all children, the Department of Education provide for: adequate grants to school boards, teacher preparation programs, special physical and transportation facilities, a basic program of studies, and adequate supervision by the Department of Education.
- That kindergarten classes be placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.
- That a director of kindergartens be appointed.[89]

In early May 1967, the Edmonton Separate School Board agreed to bring its kindergartens under the jurisdiction of the principals of the schools in which they were operating. This gave the principals responsibility for the administration and programs of kindergartens but parents still had to pay fees to support them. It was also agreed that the board put pressure on the Provincial Government for financial support for kindergartens.[90]

In early May 1967, the Edmonton Public School Board received a report on its then current kindergarten policy. The report indicated that there were no kindergartens in operation as an integral part of Edmonton Public School system. If kindergartens were to be considered as part of the educational picture for Edmonton children, the report stated, a few projects on a pilot and experimental basis could be instituted in areas of prime need at relatively low expense.[91]

At the Edmonton Public School Board meeting on May 2, the Edmonton Area Council of Home and School Associations presented a brief strongly advocating provincially-funded, optional kindergartens.[92]

In June 1967, the Edmonton Public School Board adopted a motion to have a plan prepared for the implementation of kindergartens in the system. The plan was to be restricted in scope to that of a demonstration project.[93]

A few days later, the Edmonton Journal carried an editorial indicating that a kindergarten program within the Edmonton Public School system was inevitable.

> ...there's a rising tide of support for it among young parents, some professional educationists, and Albertans accustomed to having had them elsewhere,

the editorial stated. It went on to caution, however, that if anybody was thinking in terms of a "babysitting service" or a headstart on Grade I, the idea should be fiercely resisted.[94]

On May 30, 1967, in Calgary, the Calgary Public School Board discussed the report of its Elementary School Program Commission resulting from a two-and-a-half-year study of elementary school education needs in Calgary.

> Among its recommendations were the following:
>
> - That a kindergarten program be included in the elementary school curriculum on a half day basis, this program being a readiness program.
> - That the school admission age be lowered to five years. 95

At a Board Meeting in mid-August, a motion by trustee Harald Gunderson to put the kindergarten question before the taxpayers by way of a referendum was rejected, the view being voiced that it was the responsibility of trustees to make educational decisions.[96]

At the same meeting, the Calgary Public School Board decided to extend its experimental readiness program for "culturally deprived" five-year-olds in the fall, by adding eight more half day classes. Because of the refusal by the Calgary City Council to assist with the funding for the new classes under the Preventive Social Services Act, as it had done with the previous four, the classes would be funded from local taxes through supplementary requisitions.

On August 18, 1967, the Calgary Herald carried an editorial entitled "Money Does Count". While everyone seems to agree that it would be desirable to have kindergartens, the editorial stated, their absence is not catastrophic and the ability of taxpayers to pay must be taken into account.

Elected representatives, the Herald said, should govern themselves by what the people who elected them want and not by what they think the people need, when it runs counter to public opinion or economic reality.[97]

In late August 1967, the Alberta Teachers' Association submitted a brief to the Minister of Education, Raymond Reierson, in which they formally communicated to him the resolutions adopted at their Annual Representative Assembly in the spring.[98]

Shortly afterward, Calgary Public School trustee, Harald Gunderson authored an article appearing in the Calgary Herald in which he strongly stated his opposition to the "kindergarten bandwagon". In several educational quarters, he observed, pressure was mounting for what was a universal kindergarten system in Alberta schools under the disguise of lowering the school entrance age to five years of age for admission into "pre-school readiness classes". Mr. Gunderson pointed to the Alberta Teachers' Association as the latest group to join the kindergarten bandwagon with their recent brief to the Minister of Education. The Alberta School Trustees' Association, he added, was also warming up to the idea.[99]

In October 1967, in response to the Alberta Teachers' Association brief requesting provincially-funded kindergartens, Deputy Minister of Education, T.C. Byrne stated that the government recognized the values of kindergartens but felt that financing pressures were too great to become involved in a whole new area of educational expenditure.[100]

At the 1967 Alberta School Trustees' Association Annual Convention, on November 8, in Edmonton, a resolution seeking School Foundation Program Funds for children enrolled in a "school readiness program" prior to school entrance age was defeated. Leading the attack against the resolution was Harald Gunderson while Mary Green, a Calgary Separate School Board trustee and president of the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations argued strongly in favor.[101]

A resolution calling for grants to school boards for special training for handicapped pre-school children was adopted however.[102]

The Edmonton Public School Board at its meeting of November 14, 1967, received the report entitled A Plan for Introducing Pre-School Education into the Edmonton Public Schools resulting from a June 13, 1967 motion by J.N.Willis. A key recommendation of the report was that experimental classes be established in at least two centres in September 1968.[103]

At the Alberta Social Credit convention held on November 23, 1967, a resolution asking that kindergartens be made part of the publicly-financed education was defeated. Education Minister Raymond Reierson indicated that such a program would cost an estimated $10 million per year. While he maintained his non-opposition to early childhood education, he said that the program would be a benefit for the parents, not the kids. At best he said, the program would be voluntary and only half of the eligible children would take advantage of it.[104]

As a result of their 1967 convention, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations presented a brief to the Provincial Government in January 1968, calling for grants to school boards for the establishment of publicly-supported kindergartens.[105] Following her meeting with the Provincial Cabinet, Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations president Mrs. J.A.D. Haddow said that the Alberta Government likes the idea of publicly-supported kindergartens but that there just isn't any money.[106]

On January 15, 1968, the Edmonton Journal carried an editorial commenting on the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations' request. The editorial, entitled "Kindergartens Should Be for the Deprived", predicted that once again the Home and School request would go unheeded. "The Home and School campaign has been going on for so long and has gained so much support" the editorial observed,

> that it has come to be assumed in Alberta that kindergartens are both desirable and inevitable - just as soon as the province puts up the money.

While kindergarten should be a high priority in those agencies with social welfare, the editorial concluded, "they are at the moment, the lowest priority in education".[107]

On February 28, 1968, during the throne speech debate in the Alberta Legislature, Edmonton-West Progressive Conservative MLA Lou Hyndman referred to kindergarten as the "forgotten dimension" in education. Hyndman suggested that the government work out a scheme to put kindergartens into effect the next year and that a task force to examine the question of training the teachers be established. Hyndman cautioned that unless action was taken in that area, "we may be encouraging a third generation of hard-core welfare recipients".

On March 6, 1968 in an editorial entitled "Forget It", the Edmonton Journal issued a rebuttal to Mr. Hyndman regarding his statement concerning welfare recipients. The editorial questioned the wisdom of having a kindergarten program for everybody so that "hard-core welfare recipients" would benefit and argued furthermore, that kindergartens alone, without a comprehensive social welfare backup program, would have very little effect.[108]

In the Alberta Legislature during consideration of the Department of Education spending estimates on April 10, Liberal MLA Bill Dickie demanded to know where kindergartens stood in the governments's list of education priorities. In a strong pitch for the establishment of province-wide public kindergartens, Mr. Dickie asked that Alberta children get an "even start" in education with the children of other provinces.

Education Minister Raymond Reierson replied that he was not convinced of the usefulness of province-wide kindergartens and that difficulties in transporting children in rural areas to kindergartens would be an obstacle to their implementation.[109]

In Calgary, Public School Board trustee, Harald Gunderson, commenting on Mr. Dickie's call for a province-wide kindergarten program, accused him of promoting "a meaningless and unnecessary campaign". Reiterating his often-stated argument that there was no evidence that a kindergarten experience had lasting educational benefits for children, Mr. Gunderson said that the provincial government deserved credit, not criticism, for its reluctance to launch universal kindergartens. "We need fewer universal programs...", he said.[110]

In Edmonton, the Plan for Introducing Pre-School Education into the Edmonton Public Schools having been tabled until the full 1968 budget was compiled, came up before the Board in mid-April. Shortly before a decision was to be taken on the proposal, the Edmonton Journal carried an editorial entitled "Kindergarten: Let it Die". The only real justification put forward by the plan is enrichment for culturally deprived children, the Journal stated. That objective, the editorial continued, is a welfare concern rather that an educational one, and should be pursued selectively, not universally. Even if only two pilot projects were set up, the editorial argued, the pressure from parents to make kindergartens available to all five-year-old children in the city would be immediate and irresistible.[111]

On April 25, 1968, the Edmonton Public School Board voted to establish the experimental kindergarten as proposed in the November 14, 1967 plan program for the 1968-69 school year on a one year basis.[112]

On April 30, 1968 the Education Minister, Raymond Reierson, speaking to the Western Conference of School Trustees' Association,said in relation to kindergartens that we might be pushing the little children too hard. A preschool program for underpriviledged children could possibly provide educational equality more efficiently and cheaply than kindergartens for all children, he said. The Minister indicated that he was aware of a strong desire among parents, particularly mothers, for the establishment of public kindergartens in the province. The idea had been resisted thus far, he explained, because of other pressing educational priorities.[113]

At the Annual Meeting of the Alberta Chamber of Commerce held in Edmonton on May 27, 1968 a motion calling for provincial government assistance for the establishment of kindergartens was adopted.[114] Reacting to the Chamber of Commerce recommendation, Calgary Public School trustee Harald Gunderson denounced it as "irresponsible" and said that he suspected that most of them voted off the top of their heads without having the facts before them.[115]

On March 24, 1969, a report on the "Cost of Support for Kindergarten Classes" was submitted by Chief Administrative Officer A. Bredo to the new Minister of Education, Robert C. Clark. The computations were based on a phased-in program funded under the School Foundation Program Fund and operated on a half-day schedule.

The phasing-in would be self-regulated, the report said, since it was judged very unlikely that boards could or would accommodate all five-year-old pupils. The estimates for operating costs for the year 1969-70 showed that of the 37,000 eligible five-year-olds only 10 percent would attend at a projected cost of $749,805.

In 1973-74, of 31,000 eligible pupils, 95 percent would be enrolled at a projected cost of $7,104,812.

Capital expenditures for 1969-70 would amount to approximately $1.5 million for 90 rooms required, assuming that these would be added to existing schools. It was pointed out that from 1969-70 to 1973-74, the projected accumulated decrease in enrollment in the elementary grades would total 23,000 pupils.

Finally, the report showed that there were in 1969-70, 161 private kindergartens, 93 playschools and 28 public school kindergartens operating in Alberta.[116]

On May 9, 1969 a meeting of the Department of Education Kindergarten Committee was held, comprised of the following members: Dr. E.J.M. Church (Chairman), Mr. K. Bride, Mr. W.S. Korek, Mrs. J. Krysowaty, Mr. E.G. McDonald, Mrs. P. Poscente, Mrs. S. Teal, Mrs. P. Turner.

It was announced that:

- The recommendation of the committee (from an earlier meeting) that the Department appoint a coordinator of kindergartens, had been refused by the Chief Superintendent and Deputy Minister.
- The regulations regarding teacher qualifications had been revised as recommended and had received Ministerial approval.

The meeting then turned its attention to consideration of a report from the Alberta Teacher's Association Early Childhood Education Council Curriculum Committee making some general recommendations dealing with the broad orientation of the proposed curriculum guide. The Kindergarten Committee instructed Dr. Church to make a formal request to the Chief Superintendent of Schools to the effect that the Elementary Curriculum Board consider kindergarten from a curricular point of view if not from an administrative point of view.[117]

In early June 1969, the Alberta Junior Chamber of Commerce submitted a brief to the Minister of Education, Robert Clark and to several government committees calling for the inclusion of kindergartens as part of the Alberta public school system.[118]

In June of 1969 the Commission on Educational Planning was established by an Order in Council. Dr. Walter H. Worth, Vice President (Planning and Development) at the University of Alberta at that time was appointed as Commissioner. The Commission's work was to begin in October.[119]

On June 24, 1969 the Edmonton Public School Board approved the establishment of a kindergarten program in four centres for the 1969-70 school term for children aged four years eight months to five years eight months.[120]

On July 8, 1969, the Edmonton Journal carried an editorial entitled "Kindergarten, Again". Commenting on the government announcement that it was now reviewing the concept of provincially supported kindergartens, the editorial repeated its earlier stand that the province couldn't afford it and pre-school experience should be for culturally deprived children. Again the Journal raised the suspicion that many of the parents pushing for kindergartens were really looking for babysitting. ~~As~~ alternatives to universal kindergartens, the editorial suggested lowering the school entrance age to five years or better still, institute a two month summer kindergarten program for all children who would start school in the fall.[121]

In September of 1969 a Position Paper on Early Childhood Education was drafted by Dr. E.J.M. Church, Director of the Department of Education Special Services Branch,, for internal discussion. The Position Paper first established the case for an earlier school starting age, then presented suggestions for the implementation of an Early Childhood Education program.

In stating the case for early childhood education, Dr. Church referred to Before Six by Worth et al., and argued that an organized educational program under well-trained teachers could be of great benefit to all young children. Early childhood education, he stated, should not be compulsory but it might become universal without being compulsory. "The lack of articulation between so-called 'pre-school' education and the public school system is deplorable", Dr. Church noted. Any downward extention of the public school system, he said, should become an integral part of the school system.

Dr. Church identified two factors determining the extension of educational services to the very young child: educational gains and financial priorities. Regarding the financial priorities, Dr. Church conceded that the expansion downward of the school system was being advocated at a time when secondary and post-secondary facilities were being extended at considerable cost.

He therefore, suggested that implementation of early childhood education be gradual, making the program available first of all to socially, mentally, emotionally and physically handicapped children for whom it would be most critical. For others, he suggested the extension of service first where facilities are already available. Funding might be by way of grants proportionate to those for full-time pupils. For the "normal" child, school starting age would be lowered to five years.

With regard to implementing the program, Dr. Church stated that the Division of Instruction of the Department should do three things to accommodate the five-year-olds:

- provide curricular materials through the Curriculum Branch,
- provide consultant services through the Field

Services Branch,

- provide the necessary revisions to the School Foundation Program Fund through the Administration Branch.

Finally, the Position Paper advocated the formation of a "coordinating council" on early childhood education which would include at least, representatives from the Department of Education, Department of Social Services, Department of Youth, Alberta School Trustees' Association and the Alberta Teachers' Association.[122]

The Position Paper was circulated within the Department of Education, and at Dr. Church's request, reactions and commentaries were fed back to him. The reactions to the paper were then summarized, consolidated and further commented upon by Dr.Church in a memorandum which was sent to fifteen people within the Department among whom were notably: the Honorable R.C. Clark, Minister of Education; Dr. T.C. Byrne, Deputy Minister; and Dr. R.E. Rees, Chief superintendent.

One comment relative to the "Position Paper" stated that the orientation of early childhood education should be promoting the emotional, social and physical development of the child as well as promoting the intellectual dimensions.

On the topic of coordination, Dr. Church argued that since the programs then under the responsibility of the Department of Social Development did have an education component, it would be desirable to have them articulated with programs in public early childhood education. He conceded however, that perhaps a coordinating council might be too formal and elaborate, and that a consultant on early childhood education having the responsibility of maintaining close liaison with the other agencies in the field of early childhood education might be satisfactory.[123]

5. Studies and Pilot Projects

In the fall of 1969, the Commission on Educational Planning began its work. One of three Task Forces appointed was the N-12 Educational Task Force with Dr. B. T. Keeler, Stan Maertz, Derek Morris, Larry Mutual, Lee Phipps, Orest Sherban, Joyce Thain, Dr. E. Torgunrud.[124]

Also in the fall of 1969, the Department of Education's Committee for Rewriting the School Act under the chairmanship of Mr. B. Stringham, completed its "Proposed New School Act". The Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations which had submitted a brief to the committee recommending that provisions for kindergartens be included in the New School Act expressed dismay that all mention of kindergartens had been deleted from the New Act.[125] In a written reaction to the Proposed New School Act, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations asked that the School Act at least continue to contain permissive legislation to encourage boards to establish kindergartens wherever possible. This would be a prelude to their ultimate inclusion in the school system on a universal basis, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Association said, if it was not possible to institute them on a province-wide basis at that time.[126]

At a School Act seminar in Calgary on November 19, 1969, Education Minister Robert Clark announced that the Provincial Government would be providing some financial help next year for pre-Grade I pilot programs in Edmonton and Calgary. He also made it clear that the government was not ready to start financing universal kindergartens at that time because it could not afford the $20 million per year that such a program would cost. The Alberta Service Corps and the Department of Social Development, Mr. Clark indicated, were assisting with experimental head-start and kindergarten projects throughout the province. These, along with the two proposed pilot projects in the large urban centres would help the Department of Education assess what the best system would be for the province.[127]

Reacting to the pilot project announcement, the Calgary Herald, on November 23, 1969, featured an editorial entitled "Costly Kindergartens" in which it expressed relief that the government was not ready to institute a universal kindergarten system in Alberta. The editorial argued however, that if the system could bear the expense, then there should be kindergartens, but without the unnecessary waste of pilot projects. If the system couldn't bear the cost, then kindergartens would have to wait.[128]

On January 24, 1970, the Alberta School Trustees' Association established the Education Council.[129]

In early February 1970, the Alberta Teachers' Association Early Childhood Education Council Executive sent questionnaires to all its members to obtain their views on early childhood education. The information gathered was directed to Mrs. Joyce Thain as input into the N-12 Education Task Force of the Commission on Educational Planning (CEP). The responses were strongly in favour of universal, provincially-funded, optional, kindergarten programs as part of the school system.[130]

On February 7, 1970, the Department of Education Kindergarten Committee met. Committee chairman Dr. Church explained that there was no budget for the committee nor for preparing a kindergarten handbook.[131]

In April 1970, the Alberta Teachers' Association submitted its brief entitled: Teaching and Learning/1999 to the Commission on Education Planning. There were no specific recommendations as such in the brief. Rather, the basic premise adopted was to the effect that what teaching would be like in the future would depend on what teachers believe. Nurseries and kindergartens were forecasted as being part of the education system in 1999 and financed partly by the provincial government and partly by local revenue.[132]

During the third week of April, the Minister of Education issued Requests for Proposals for a two year government-funded pre-school pilot project to be operated in the inner-city cores of Edmonton and Calgary. The intent of the project was to offer culturally disadvantaged children from these areas a better chance when they entered Grade I and also to help the Government discover the most efficient design for a pre-school program.

Proposals were publicly requested from school boards, community groups and all interested agencies and individuals. Dr. Church was assigned responsibility for the coordination of the project.[133]

An Evaluation Committee was established by the Minister in June 1970 to review the proposals and to make recommendations regarding the awarding of contracts. This committee was comprised of John Barr (Executive Assistant to the Minister); Dr. E.J.M. Church (Department of Education); Dr. M. Horowitz (University of Alberta); John Barry (Business executive) and Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi (Department of Education).[134]

On July 14, 1970, the Evaluation Committee submitted its report to the Minister, recommending that contracts be awarded to the Edmonton Public School Board in Edmonton, and to Educorps in association with the Inglewood Community Association, in Calgary. The two pilot projects began operation in September as planned.

During three days of public hearings held in Edmonton beginning on May 12, 1970, the Commission on Educational Planning heard a brief entitled Education for the Eighties prepared by the Edmonton Branch of the Canadian Committee on Early Childhood Education. This committee represented in Canada the World Organization for Early Childhood Education (OMEP), an international organization funded and working closely with UNESCO. It stated as major aims: to protect and advance the interests of young children and to strengthen the foundations of the family. In addition to fostering the aims of and objectives of OMEP, the Canadian Committee on Early Childhood (CCEC) also included among its aims:

- To promote the well being of all young children through the study of their needs, the fostering of their home life and the betterment of their early education.
- To act as a federating body of organizations and individuals in Canada concerned with young children.

The Edmonton Branch of the CCEC had among its members at that time, Dr. M. Horowitz and Sheila Campbell.

In their brief to the Commission on Educational Planning, the CCEC advanced a number of principles for the development of a sound educational system, from which recommendations were derived. Among the recommendations made were the following:

- Attach increasingly higher priority to legislation for the care and education of young children.
- Set up in Government a Health, Education and Social Development Agency under the same Minister.
- Ensure representation from all agencies involved and from many disciplines on a Regional Board which would look after the Educational Development of everyone within a community.
- Help create stronger families and encourage family involvement in a decisive way in the educational development of their children throughout childhood.
- Provide special pre-school experiences for children and families from limited social and ethnic settings. 135

In early June at the Banff ASTA Short Course and Trustee

Seminar, Dr. Myer Horowitz, head of the Department of Elementary Education delivered the keynote address in which he called for more attention to be placed on the early education of young children.[136] A heated debate ensued between Dr.Horowitz and Calgary Public School Board trustee Harald Gunderson during a panel discussion on the subject. Mr. Gunderson argued strongly against universal kindergartens.

In mid-July 1970, the Calgary Public School Board, upon learning that its bid for the $50,000 provincial grant for a pre-school pilot project had been rejected in favour of the proposal submitted by the Inglewood Community Association and Educorps Ltd., decided to write to the Minister for some explanations.[137] One of the questions raised pertained to cost-effectiveness and was also mentioned in a Calgary Herald editorial on the issue.[138]

In his reply, the Minister of Education Robert Clark indicated that the government wanted to compare the results of a public and private pre-school program. Cost-effectiveness, he said, was only one of a number of concerns upon which the decision was based.

In 1970 the new School Act was enacted. No reference was made to kindergartens in The School Act. The Department of Education Act, however, in Section 7, clause (c) of subsection 1 states:

> The Minister may make regulations concerning the definition, administration, operation, management, control and licensing of all kindergarten education programs in Alberta.[139]

It was under this provision that The Kindergarten Regulations were formulated. The 1970 version of the regulations were modified only slightly to take into account the change in name of the Department of Welfare to the Department of Social Development.

Compulsory school attendance was set from six to sixteen according to Section 133, subsection 1 of The School Act. Section 128, clause (a) gives a board authority to lower the school entrance age of pupils and to make such rules and conditions in connection therewith as it thinks fit.[140]

The School Foundation Program Fund Regulations (1970) defined "pupil" as a child who is at least five years and six months, therefore making grants payable to such pupils provided that they be registered in Grade I.[141]

On September 17, 1970, the Alberta Teachers' Association submitted a brief to the Minister of Education in which they stated their belief that the introduction of universal kindergarten education would be one of the most important qualitative improvements which could be made to the current educational system. As a beginning, the brief called for inclusion under the school foundation program, of those pupils currently enrolled in public kindergartens. In the same brief, the Alberta Teachers' Association referred to the introduction of kindergartens, aside from being a desirable end in itself, as a means in attempting to keep the number of available teaching positions in balance with increasing supply. The end of the teacher shortage in Alberta, it was noted, had arrived in 1970, one year earlier than predicted because of tightened purse strings which had led to reduced hiring, both in Alberta and elsewhere.[142]

In early October, the Calgary Separate School Board took what was described as a first step toward establishing a system-wide kindergarten program by agreeing to make one of its schools available, rent free for a kindergarten. Trustee Mrs. Mary Green said that the board should now take the initiative in kindergarten programs. The three groups operating kindergartens were advised of the board's willingness to become involved in cooperative participation.[143]

On October 23, 1970, Dr. Audrey Griffiths, a member of the Alberta School Trustees' Association Education Council, commenting on a Zone 3 trustee meeting with the Minister of Education Robert Clark, expressed surprise that he was "strongly against kindergarten". The Minister had indicated that it would cost $20 million and that the field was being well served by Preventive Social Services. He had rejected the idea that the Department of Education take over because Preventive Social Services had done a much better job of involving the public than school boards had or were ever likely to do. Furthermore, the Minister was reported as saying that Preventive Social Services was probably doing as good a job as the school boards educationally.

Dr. Griffiths challenged the Minister's $20 million figure: according to her calculations, the cost for kindergartens would be about $6.5 million. She observed that trustees in her area and probably others had heard the $20 million figure, and were likely to reject the program at the Alberta School Trustees' Association Convention as being too expensive. She concluded that there appeared to be more hurdles to surmount regarding the introduction of a pre-school program than the Alberta School Trustees' Association Convention alone.[144]

At the 1970 Alberta School Trustees' Annual Convention held in Edmonton on November 3, after some debate, several votes, and a speech earlier in the day by Education Minister Robert Clark citing a $22 million cost for kindergartens, the trustees narrowly adopted a pre-school resolution. It asked that the Provincial Department of Education establish a program of pre-school experiences and permit school boards to adapt the program so as to bring it into accord with the need of their jurisdictions. Such pre-school educational opportunities beyond nursery school would be supported under the School Foundation Program Fund, the resolution stated.[145]

In December of 1970, the Alberta School Trustees' Association submitted its brief entitled Who Shall Govern to the Commission on Educational Planning. The main concept expressed in the brief was that an effective public education system can best be developed by increasing the responsibility and powers of the locally elected school board. No specific mention was made of pre-school education or kindergartens in its recommendations.[146]

In Edmonton, from December 3 to 5, the Congress on the Future: Education was sponsored as a public involvement activity by the CEP and conducted by AHRRC. It was designed to stimulate thinking about the implications of selected futures, forecasts and their effect on public policy. Some 300 Albertans participated on invitation.[147]

In response to a questionnaire, a strong majority of the delegates (79 percent of the 238 who participated) indicated that Alberta should establish a province-wide program of pre-school education.[148]

On December 29, 1970, Education Minister Robert Clark announced the approval of some projects initiated by certain School Boards under the Innovative Projects Fund established by the Department of Education in the spring of 1970. The special $1 million fund had been set up to encourage boards to experiment with new and better ways of utilizing their resources in order to improve the quality of education.[149]

The Innovative Projects Advisory Board which reviewed all proposals and made recommendations to the Minister of Education was headed by Associate Deputy Minister Dr. R.E. Rees. Dr. H.I. Hastings, Consultant on Innovative Projects, acted as coordinator of the projects.

Among the projects for which approval was announced was one in the area of early childhood. It was entitled Early Childhood Development Through Use of Environmental Centres, and was submitted by the High Prairie School

Division Number 48, to begin in December 1970 and to end in June of 1975. It should be noted that although approval had been granted, the project did not begin as scheduled, and was resubmitted in July of 1971 to receive approval by the new Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman in September of 1971.

The main purpose of the project was "to offset the personal learning deficits of children who are entering the schools of the Lesser Slave Lake Area". In the background and justification for the project, the High Prairie proposal indicated that over the past few years agencies such as Youth Corps, Company of Young Canadians, Community Development and Preventive Social Services had launched a proliferation of "Headstart" and playschool programs in most of the communities in the Lesser Slave Lake Area. Few, if any of these, according to the proposal, consisted of an educationally sound program.

An early childhood development program, the proposal argued, must in part be a "readiness program" and this should be the proper responsibility of an educational authority. The High Prairie School Division, it was stated, had not been able to provide those guided activities in the past because direct government financial support to an educational authority had not been available for this purpose.[150]

On January 14, 1971, the Alberta School Trustees in their annual brief to the Cabinet, formally transmitted to the government the resolutions passed at their November 1970 convention. In response to the call for government support to school boards under the School Foundation Program for pre-school educational opportunities, Minister Robert Clark said that such a program utilizing television could be launched by the province on a pilot basis.[151]

On January 15, 1971, the Edmonton Journal carried an editorial entitled "Project Tenderness" in which it stated its support of the pilot project as the proper kind of starting point for the development of any large-scale kindergarten system in Edmonton. The reluctance of the provincial government to undertake the expenditures involved in a provincial kindergarten system is warranted, the editorial observed, considering the conflicting evidence on the worth of kindergarten systems elsewhere.[152]

The following day a letter to the Journal by the Minister of Education Robert Clark, was published in which Mr. Clark set out to correct an important error appearing in the article carried by the Journal. Contrary to what was written, Mr. Clark stated that"Project Tenderness" was not the only provincial involvement in early childhood education. The Minister of Education also explained with regard to the evaluation of the pre-school pilot projects in Calgary and Edmonton, that it should provide the kind of research information which is required before a decision can be made on whether or not to implement a province-wide kindergarten system.[153]

On January 25, 1971, Dr. Church, Chairman of the

Department of Education Kindergarten Committee and Director of Pupil Personnel Services, replied to a letter received earlier from the Alberta Teachers' Association Early Childhood Education Council, in which concern was indicated relative to the fact that the Provincial Committee had not met since April 21, 1970. In bringing the Committee members up to date on activities which had transpired since the last meeting, Dr. Church stated that it had not been possible to implement a change in the maximum pupil-teacher ratio which had been voted at the April 20-21, 1970 meeting. His office had therefore, unilaterally decided to shift its position and accept a ratio of one to twenty-five.[154]

As a consequence of the attempted change in regulations, the Happy Hours Kindergarten of Calgary forwarded a brief in mid-February 1971 to the Department of Education, entitled Licensing and Operating Kindergartens. The brief pointed out that since their beginning in 1953, the community kindergartens had developed highly qualified staff. It asked that the Department of Education consult with them when considering new regulations or changes in the existing ones. This would prevent misunderstandings and confusion and the need to revoke or suspend announced regulations, the brief concluded.[155]

On February 18, 1971 a report entitled Preschool Education in Alberta with Special Reference to the Involvement of the Provincial Government prepared by Dr. Church, was submitted to the Minister of Education.

The report summarized government policy with regard to pre-school or early childhood education as including:

1. assuming the responsibility for the regulation of pre-school institutions;
2. supporting financially pre-school education for handicapped children;
3. permitting publicly-supported school systems to develop programs for pre-school children within their own resources.

Government financial support has been generally limited, the report said, to pilot or demonstration projects in pre-school education involving:

1. "Headstart" projects under the Preventive Social Service Branch;
2. "Headstart" projects under the Department of Youth, all in native communities. In 1970, thirteen operated for four months from May to September under the Alberta Service Corps;
3. "Headstart" under Human Resources Development Authority;
4. pre-school pilot projects in Calgary and Edmonton funded by the Department of Education.

In addition to the Kindergarten Survey information recently submitted to the Minister, the report also included some statistics on private kindergartens, showing a total of 225 classes in Alberta. Of that total, eighty-seven were located in Calgary and fifty-eight in Edmonton.[156]

At around that time a Position Paper entitled Organizing a Province-Wide System of Education to Accommodate the Emerging Future prepared for the Commission on Educational Planning by Dr. L.W. Downey, a member of the Commission on Educational Planning Board and Director of the Human Resources Research Council, predicted that by the year 1980, pre-primary school education would likely be provided in some form or other. "Why", he asked, "does the important area of Early Childhood Education remain as yet, unincorporated into the education system? ...would it not be appropriate at this time", Downey wondered, "to add an early childhood segment to the educational system?" [157]

On February 22, 1971 the Commission on Educational Planning N-12 Education Task Force released its interim proposals. The N-12 Education Task Force report indicated that it foresaw the need to integrate the social service agencies with the educational environment. It also foresaw an ever-expanding need for early childhood education facilities.

While there were at that time some excellent kindergartens in Alberta, the Task Force stated, the existence of second-rate kindergartens could not be criticized too strongly. Poor quality educational experiences were being provided under often inadequate physical, emotional and environmental conditions, the report said. Furthermore, the report continued, "Present trends indicate that because of working mothers, marriage breakdown, economic pressure, etc., an increasing number of children below the age of 5½ are being ignored from the standpoint of receiving valuable learning experiences". It would be "not only irresponsible but tragic", the Task Force report suggested, "...to fail to take immediate steps to help this age group".[158]

In Proposal #2, the Task Force recommended that for the period up to 1980, public institutions be established to which parents might, at their discretion, bring their children when they reach the ages three, four or five. The increased involvement of parents of children younger than Grade I age was also urged.[159]

In his address to a Task Force Seminar held shortly after, coordinator Dr. B.T. Keeler indicated that the addition of the three to five age group to the present education system was not being advocated on the basis that children would achieve better in later grades in the traditional sense, although that may be the case, but rather because the Task Force believed that it would lead to happier, healthier children, and hence lay a foundation for a program of lifelong education.[160]

On March 29, 1971, the Alberta Teachers' Association forwarded to the Commission on Educational Planning a _Review of the Interim Proposals of the Task Forces_. A major recommendation made in this review pertained to the desirability of including recommendations on implementation in the Commission Report.

Concerning the Interim Proposal #2 of the N-12 Task Force on early childhood education, the Alberta Teachers' Association _Review_ pointed out that the proposal did not state whether or not the public early childhood education service proposed should be a responsibility of, and charge on, school boards.[161]

On April 6, 1971, John I. Goodlad in his critique of the N-12 Task Force Interim Proposals, recommended that the proposals needed to be arranged according to priority. The report was skimpy,he stated, in regard to the kind of early childhood education to be provided. "If early education is so important, then we must be assured that it is going to be well done or may be doing more harm than good", Goodlad observed.[162]

On May 21, 1971, the N-12 Task Force transmitted its revised proposals to Dr. W.H. Worth thereby discharging its responsibilities. The document contained modifications and amplifications of the original proposals, several additional proposals, a priority classification of proposals and some observations and suggestions regarding implementation.[163]

Regarding Proposal #2 on early childhood education, it was specified that:

> The program should be operated by school boards and eventually should be required of children for a minimum of one year and be available universally for up to three years.

Among the proposals put forward by the Task Force, the early childhood education proposal was identified as being of "very highest priority" and "very expensive".[164]

On February 22, 1971, a public panel was held at the Jubilee Auditorium in Edmonton under the sponsorship of the Edmonton OMEP group on the topic of parent and community responsibility in the care and education of young children. On the panel were representatives of the major political parties in Alberta and the moderator was Dr. Myer Horowitz.

Social Development Minister Ray Speaker indicated that co-ordination of services for the young child was essential, and that amalgamation of the Health and Social Development Departments was one of the first steps.

Conservative MLA Lou Hyndman said that there is a feeling at high government levels that early childhood education is a frill, along with a failure to realize that the investment would save expenses in other areas.

Hart Horn, representing the New Democratic Party stated that he would do away with "parking spots" for children and have more day-care centres combining day-care and education.

Mrs. H.R. Roesingh, representing the Liberal Party advocated more parent involvement in day-care and raising standards in these centres.[165]

In a "Reader Comment" published in the Edmonton Journal on March 13, 1971, entitled "Is Kindergarten hint just vote talk?", E.F. McCalla stated that after having avoided kindergartens for over thirty-five years the Social Credit Government was now hinting, just before the election that it was considering the implementation of a province-wide kindergarten system."Mr.McCalla stated that "...neither the past history of early childhood education in Alberta nor the Education Department's present manoeuvring in the field merit a vote of confidence for Alberta's Social Credit government in the forthcoming election."[166]

On March 9, 1971, a Department of Education report on Estimated Capital Cost of Introducing a Province-Wide Kindergarten System was forwarded to the office of the Minister of Education. This estimate was based on approximately the same number of children as were enrolled in Grade I at that time, an average class size of twenty children and operating half days only. Whereas the total initial capital expenditure was estimated at $14.9 million the yearly amortized capital cost of instituting a province-wide kindergarten system was estimated at $596,000.[167]

In March 1971, a meeting was held with the purpose of exploring means of developing and instituting a consistent common approach to early childhood education. Present at this meeting were: Dr. E. Torgunrud (Department of Education), Dr. M. Horowitz (Department of Elementary Education, University of Alberta), and Eldon Bliss (Edmonton Public School System). A further meeting also included a representative from the Edmonton Separate School System.[168]

As an outgrowth of these two meetings, a proposal was developed and presented to the Alberta Innovative Projects Advisory Board bearing the title Cooperative Early Childhood Education Project (CECEP). The project, to run from August 15, 1971 to August 31, 1975 involved two elementary schools, one each in the Edmonton Public and Edmonton Separate School Systems respectively. Also participating were the Early Childhood Section, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta; the Social Planning Branch, Department of Social Development; and on an unofficial basis, the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation through Mr. Burn Evans.

The CECEP project, whose approach was inspired to some extent by the British Infant School model, was designed as a learning project to develop cooperatively the most effective means of promoting the total growth and development of individual youngsters up to the age of eight years, both at school and at home.[169]

In the spring of 1971, the Alberta Teachers' Association Council on School Administration devoted a special issue of its bulletin, Challenge in Educational Administration to the upcoming 1971 provincial elections. Interviews were reported with Robert Clark, Minister of Education representing the Social Credit party; Louis Hyndman, Opposition critic on education representing the Progressive Conservative party; and Hart Horn representing the New Democratic party.

On the subject of priorities in education and allocation of financial support, Mr. Hyndman said that one area which is deficient and perhaps historically has been overlooked is that of early childhood and elementary education. "There's a great abundance of evidence today," Mr. Hyndman said, "that suggests the value of educational experiences in early childhood for those ready and able to learn at five or even four (years of age)." Particularly in disadvantaged areas", he added, "pre-school education might enable youngsters to phase in to the regular school system without being considerably behind."

Mr. Hyndman continued that "there should be incentives to all local school districts ..., which hopefully would result within five or so years in the large majority of youngsters being involved in early childhood education.... Alberta.... is certainly the last of the 'have' provinces to have a program of this kind." [170]

The official platform of the Progressive Conservative party stated under "New Directions to Improve the Quality of Education":

> To have the entrance age at the primary level reduced from six to five after an adequate phasing-in period so that Alberta does not remain the only province in Canada failing to recognize that a five-year-old can significantly benefit from full involvement in the educational process. 171

It also proposed to expand facilities and programs for children with special abilities.

New Democratic party representative, Hart Horn also mentioned pre-elementary education as his first priority.

The Minister of Education, Robert Clark, however, indicated as his top priority, the Grade I to XII system including something in early childhood education in "... special cases where there are special needs." He made it clear that he did not envisage the addition of one year of pre-school education across the board in Alberta, but rather expanded opportunities for children under age six in deprived socio-economic situations. This, the Minister added, might be carried out through the Innovative Projects fund, through the new Health and Social Development Department or still through the Alberta Service Corps.

If returned to office, Mr. Clark said that he would be getting reaction to the Worth Commission Report due in mid-year 1972, and then deal with its recommendations.[172]

On May 5, 1971, the Department of Education Early Childhood Education Committee held a meeting called at the request of Mrs. Sheila Campbell of the Alberta Teachers' Association Early Childhood Education Council. Dr. Church indicated that he had asked the Minister to clarify the status of the committee by establishing an advisory committee on early childhood education.[173]

On May 18, 1971, Dr. Church sent out a letter to the committee members advising them that the Minister had disbanded the committee.[174]

In June 1971, the Alberta Teachers' Association Provincial Executive, acting on a request from the Early Childhood Education Council, expressed concern regarding the disbanding of the Department of Education Early Childhood Education Committee. The Provincial Executive Council also asked that the Department of Education exclusively, through the Elementary School Curriculum Board, include among its responsibilities, matters related to early childhood education.[175]

On June 19, 1971 a letter was sent by Dr. Church to the Alberta Teachers' Association, the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations and the two Alberta universities, announcing the formation of an Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education by the Minister of Education and seeking representation from these groups on the committee.[176]

At the June 5, 1971 meeting of the Alberta School Trustees' Association Education Council held in Banff, a panel discussion was held on the topic "Early Childhood and the Involvement of Social Agencies."[177] As an outgrowth of this discussion, a motion was passed allocating $1,000 to sponsor a feasibility study leading to a pilot project of an appropriate delivery system for early childhood education.[178]

In mid-July, the Alberta Human Resources Research Council was asked[179] to undertake the study and in turn, it obtained the assistance of Dr. Myer Horowitz to carry it out.[180] It was specified that the feasibility study would report on the possibility of conducting a pilot project in one or more areas of the province in which all the agencies whose work involved children would operate as a coordinated unit. The time line called for the feasibility study, along with its recommendations, to be ready for the Alberta School Trustees' Association Annual Convention in November.

6. Toward Early Childhood Services

At the end of August 1971, a provincial general election was held which resulted in the Social Credit Government being defeated and replaced by the Progressive Conservative party. The new Education Minister was Lou Hyndman.

The kindergarten or early childhood education issue did not appear to be a major one in deciding the outcome of the election.[181]

In mid-September the Innovative Project, Early Childhood Development Through Use of Environmental Control Centres which had been resubmitted as a result of the initial project being postponed, was approved by the new Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman.[182]

The project was administered through a Coordinating Committee composed of: the Asistant Superintendent of Schools, High Prairie School Division #48; the Director, Lesser Slave Lake Preventive Social Services; and a Program Coordinator hired jointly by and responsible to the School Division and the PSS Board. Provision was made for parental involvement through the Parent Advisory Committees. The project focussed specifically on the communities of Slave Lake (four classes) and Canyon Creek, Kinuso, Faust and Joussard (one class each).[183]

For the 1971-72 school year the number of Edmonton Separate School Board kindergarten classes doubled to twenty-two as a result of a mid-May Edmonton Separate School Board decision to extend its existing kindergarten policy.[184]

At a September 1971 meeting of the Alberta Teachers' Association Provincial Executive Council, the Early Childhood Education Council Position Paper was reviewed and approved for general distribution.

The Position Paper prepared under the direction of Dr. M. Affleck and Pearl Turner, set out to answer the "why", "when", "what", and "how" questions of early childhood education. Based on the considerations brought to light by this process, the Early Childhood Education Council adopted the position that(among other points):

- Early childhood is defined as approximately corresponding to the period between ages three to eight for most children.
- The education of young children must be accepted as a cooperative endeavour and the joint responsibility of the home, school and society.
- Common aims need to be clarified.
- There should be diversity of programs but also equality of opportunity.
- An integrated child development program in integrated classes and with integrated content is desirable. 185

The Alberta Teachers' Association Early Childhood Education Council Position Paper was presented and discussed at the Early Childhood Education Council Conference held early in October in Edmonton. Dr. Myer Horowitz, president of the Council, summed up the conference by telling teachers that the contributions of others whose professional preparation is not in education must not only be tolerated but sought and welcomed.[186]

In the summer of 1971, the Chairman of the Calgary Separate School Board, Mrs. Mary Green, who was also a member of the ASTA Education Council and the former President of the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations, authored an article entitled, "Focus on the Formative Years" for the Alberta School Trustee.

In her article, Mrs. Green deplored the evergrowing proliferation of early childhood related activities in the social services. She called for more coordination of programs and at the same time a greater concentration of effort during the formative early childhood years.

Trustees, she said, should reassess their programs to find out if they were doing "too much, too late". Mrs. Green also pointed out that much money was being spent in school trying to retrain children who had been hopelessly damaged by deprivations in their early years.

Intense effort applied in very early childhood could result in substantial savings in remedial and custodial programs later in the child's life, she said.[187]

Mrs. Green also made reference to the ASTA Education Council's initiative in sponsoring a study through the Alberta Human Resources Research Council, to investigate the feasibility of establishing a pilot project in order to test an integrated services approach.

In mid-October 1971 some seventy social workers, day-care personnel and educators, all members of the Canadian Committee on Early Childhood held a two day conference in Edmonton. Education Minister, Lou Hyndman and Health and Social Development Minister Neil Crawford, both addressed the delegates.

Mr. Hyndman stated that in comparison with Great Britain and Europe, Alberta did not measure up in the field of early childhood education and that the government intended to change this over the next four years. One special priority with him, he stated, was the need to integrate the Department of Education pre-school programs with the Department of Health and Social Development. The Minister of Education explained that his job would be to fight for priorities in cabinet and in the legislature. In conjunction with these efforts, he called for continuing public education to make people aware of the need for pre-school education.

The new Health and Social Development Minister, Neil Crawford agreed with Mr. Hyndman regarding the need for inputs from various government departments as well as cooperation between them on pre-school programs.[188]

Also in October 1971 the Alberta Association for Young Children (AAYC) was formed with Sheila Campbell, Director of Day-Care with the City of Edmonton, as its first chairman.

The Alberta Association for Young Children identified as its main area of concern the welfare of all children below the age of twelve but primarily that of the under six age group. Among its aims the Alberta Association for Young Children stated the following:

> - to coordinate the efforts of all agencies, organizations, professional groups, parents and all others interested in early childhood;
>
> - to encourage and facilitate the coordination of existing and future services for young children and to provide the greatest efficiency and effectiveness of these services;
>
> - to make recommendations in the area of early childhood to the Government of the Province of Alberta.[189]

The membership of the Alberta Association for Young Children, while open to all persons or organizations interested in the goals and aims of the Association, seemed to consist in 1971-72 mainly of non-educational Social Services professionals, and individuals involved in the operation of day-care centres.[190]

Following the conference, the Alberta Association for Young Children forwarded a set of recommendations to the Provincial Cabinet. Among the recommendations were the following:

> - to explore the possibility not just of "cooperation" and "coordination" among groups involved in different programs, but actual "integration" of two or more programs, such as day-care, nursery, kindergarten;
>
> - to establish one set of minimum provincial standards which deal with the educational, health, social and emotional aspects of programs rather than several sets of

> standards put forward by various departments. This need is related to one raised earlier that sufficient financing should be available to enable projects to meet minimum standards.

On October 13, 1971, some changes and appointments were made in the administrative hierarchy of the Department of Education. Among these,of interest in this study, were the appointments of Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth as Deputy Minister and Dr. H.I. Hastings as an Associate Director of Curriculum.[191]

On October 22, 1971, Dr. E.J.M. Church, Director of Pupil Personnel Services, submitted to the new Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman A Resume of Early Childhood Education; Present Status, Future Plans and Estimated Costs in Establishing a Publicly Supported Kindergarten Program as had been requested.

This report was essentially an updating of the report entitled Pre-School Education in Alberta with Special Reference to the Involvement of the Provincial Government presented to Robert Clark in February 1971 which, aside from a few additions, was considered to be still current as far as present departmental policy was concerned.

Among the additions were:

- financial assistance for classes for five-year-old handicapped children;
- studies on the cost of implementing a publicly supported kindergarten program.

Regarding future plans existing for early childhood education, Dr. Church explained that it had been very difficult to plan for the future in any meaningful and comprehensive way because the former government was reluctant to change its policy of non-involvement on "pre-school" education.

Introduction of a kindergarten system would require the building of additional classrooms, the report stated, but since these could be attached to existing buildings, the additional land costs involved would be insignificant.

Because of the decline in the number of births and the resulting decline in the Grade I enrollment, the report estimated that many areas in the province, mainly rural areas but also areas in the cities, had unused classrooms.

The total cost for introducing a province-wide kindergarten system in Alberta for 38,000 children commencing in September 1972 was estimated at slightly over $12 million.

The report suggested that a gradual phasing-in of the kindergarten system over a three year period might be considered if the government felt that the initial expenditure would be too great.[192]

In November 1971, the feasibility study An Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education by Dr. M. Horowitz (principal investigator) was submitted to the Alberta School Trustees' Association. Because of the deadline for the presentation of the report, proposals for specific pilot projects were not developed.

Among the conclusions reached and the recommendations made by Dr. Horowitz were the following:

- Alberta is presently in a unique position to develop and test a variety of alternatives,

> and to avoid problems encountered elsewhere, since no overall provincial policy exists to guide the establishment of early childhood programs.
>
> - It is essential to join forces with other agencies that are also concerned with the development of the child. Some pilot projects should be designed to coordinate the activities of health, social services, recreation, cultural and educational units. These services might be integrated by creating a new unit for their delivery to children.
> - The ASTA should encourage its member systems to submit proposals for early childhood education projects to the Department of Education's Innovative Project Fund and/or to the Department of Health and Social Development.
> - There is, at the present time, an increasing interest on the part of leaders from various fields for cooperation in the area of early childhood education: therefore, the establishment of one or more pilot projects is indeed feasible. 193

At the ASTA Convention on November 9, 1971, the following motion was adopted:[194] that the Provincial Department of Education establish a program or programs supportive of educational experiences for the benefit of children in various jurisdictions, whether urban or rural, and that these pre-school educational opportunities be supported under the School Foundation Program Fund.[195]

On November 29, 1971, the ATA submitted a brief to the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman. The brief urged that, consistent with the belief in equal opportunities for all young children, government support be given to school boards to provide early childhood education programs. The ATA also underlined the need for an Advisory Committee to the Minister.[196]

In early December 1971, a seminar was organized by the Edmonton Public and Separate School system along with the Edmonton Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, to discuss ways of implementing recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee on Emotional and Learning Disabilities in Children (CELDIC) published in June 1970. Among the recommendations adopted by the participants was one calling for the establishment of kindergartens within the public school system. The recommendations were presented to the Minister of Education and Health and Social Development shortly thereafter.[197]

On January 21, 1972, the first meeting of the Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education was held in Edmonton. The Committee was composed of the following:

Department of Education:

- Dr. E.J.M. Church, Director Pupil Personnel; Services Branch, Chairman;
- Dr. E.A. Torgunrud, Director of Curriculum Branch;
- Mrs. P. Shanahan, Consultant in Primary Education.

Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations:

- Mrs. Edna Westling.

Alberta School Trustees' Association:

- Mr. J. Cleveland Rae.

Alberta Teachers' Association:

- Mr. J.A. Fotheringham.

Alberta Teachers' Association Early Childhood Education Council:

- Mr. Elton Tanne.

Universities of Alberta:

- Dr. Myer Horowitz, University of Alberta;
- Dr. Ethel M. King, University of Calgary.

Teachers:

- Mrs. Doris Severyn, Glen Avon P.S. School, St. Paul (rural community);
- Miss Luce Granger, Parkdale Elementary School, Wetaskiwin.

Dr. Church indicated that meetings of the committee had been postponed with the formation of the new government until its policies with regard to early childhood education and advisory committees had been determined.

After much discussion on the composition of the Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education, it was decided in the interest of keeping the number of members down to a manageable size, to leave the committee as constituted.

Regarding the terms of reference, Dr. Church mentioned that the committee should advise the Minister on all matters involving early childhood or pre-school education. Dr. Horowitz stated that no matter how valuable the recommendations of the committee might be, the Cabinet would likely wait for the Report of the Commission on Educational Planning before making a definite decision.

Dr. Church, Dr. Horowitz and Dr. Torgunrud all spoke of the importance of taking into account and attempting to articulate the views and interests of other government departments and agencies involved with young children.

An "ad hoc" committee consisting of Mrs. Shanahan, chairman, Mr. Fotheringham and Dr. King was appointed to gather all available data on pre-school education in the province and to present that information at the next meeting of the Minister's Advisory Committee set for the end of March.[198]

On January 25, 1972, the Minister of Education told a conference of 100 Alberta Superintendents of Schools that the provincial government had an open mind on early childhood education and was studying various approaches, including provincial funding for such a program.

Early childhood education, the Minister said, should be unstructured and basically informal in nature and for this reason the Department of Education wasn't prepared to simply impose a kindergarten level on the existing school system. The government may instead, Mr. Hyndman continued, provide funds to agencies now in the field including private and volunteer community groups. He added that the provincial Health and Social Development Department might also participate, particularly in deprived urban areas.

A major problem being faced, the Minister said, was that of opposition to the idea in rural areas mainly because of the hardships for four or five-year-old children having to travel twenty to thirty miles to attend kindergarten. As a result, he declared that any early childhood program endorsed would be implemented only when local boards want them.

Mr. Hyndman also indicated that his Department was anxious to hear the recommendations of the Commission on Educational Planning on the matter.[199]

Also early in 1972, the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman announced that the Innovative Project Fund was being phased out but approved projects would be carried to completion.[200]

On February 2, 1972, the ASTA presented a brief to the Premier and Executive Council recommending School Foundation Program Fund support for pre-school classes as voted at their November 1971 annual convention.[201]

On February 12, 1972, the Alberta Human Resources Research Council (AHRRC) released a booklet, Alberta, 1971: Toward a Social Audit (A Report to the people of Alberta about the quality of Life in Alberta) by Dr. L.W. Downey.

Concerning education, the report stated that the system's weakest point was clearly at the early childhood level with evidence suggesting that in this area Alberta's record was one of the poorest in Canada. (This statement was headlined in both the Calgary Herald and the Edmonton Journal on February 14, 1972).

"Why does Alberta invest so minimally in the provision of early childhood educational opportunities?" Downey asked. "In Alberta", he pointed out, "we do virtually nothing to ensure that healthy patterns of human development are established during the critical years".[202]

Commenting on the AHRRC Report, Education Minister Lou Hyndman said that the whole question of developing some form of early childhood program was one of the priority areas being examined by the provincial government.

The Minister explained,

> The main aspect now, is, what is the best way of doing it right? ...(Alberta) is in a position of being able to start with a clean sheet of paper, and to avoid the mistakes in an early childhood program that other jurisdictions have encountered. 203

Mr. Hyndman added that an early childhood program could be started in areas serving inner-city core children and native children where it was needed most.

Also reacting to the Downey statement, Edmonton Public School Board Superintendent Dr. Rolland Jones said:

> the lack of kindergartens (in school systems) is strictly a matter of financing. The provincial government hasn't realized the value of early childhood education, at least not to the point where they're willing to put their money where their mouth is. (ibid)

On February 18, 1972, the Calgary Herald carried an editorial entitled "Pre-school Training" in which it commented upon the AHRRC statements regarding Alberta's record in pre-school education.

The editorial pointed out that the AHRRC statistics did not take into account the church, community and private kindergartens and suggested the possibility that the AHRRC might be gathering ammunition to present a case for kindergartens to the provincial government.

Surely, the editorial argued, there are more pressing social needs than setting up a costly program of kindergartens. Evidence of the long range educational value of kindergartens is scant, the editorial stated, and parents who feel their children need pre-school training, have managed to organize kindergartens at moderate cost through cooperative programs.[204]

At the Northeastern Alberta Teachers' Convention held in Edmonton on February 17 and 18th, 1972, the Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth said that early childhood education is coming to Alberta. He explained that the provincial government was presently considering the matter and that various alternative program forms were being examined. Among the alternatives being considered Dr. Hawkesworth mentioned: lowering of the school entrance age, kindergartens, public and private child care centres, wide use of multi-media programs or varying combinations of these.[205]

On March 1 and 2, 1972, a Study Seminar on Early Childhood Education sponsored by the Athabasca Regional Office was held in Edmonton. In a news release announcing the Seminar, Mr. C.D. Ledgerwood, coordinator of the Athabasca Regional Office stated:

> The government has clearly established priorities for early childhood education. A number of approaches are being explored. At this seminar we shall be seeking methods of modifying existing educational practices to better meet the needs of our youngest learners. 206

Among the conference speakers at the seminar were: the Honorable L.D. Hyndman, Minister of Education; Dr. M. Horowitz, Professors L. Everett and J. Blakely (University of Alberta); Mr. M. Finlay, Department of Social Development;

Miss B.K. Parr, Acting director, Athabasca Health Unit; and Mrs. P. Shanahan, Dr. E.J.M. Church and Dr. E.A. Torgunrud from the Department of Education.[207]

On March 7, 1972, a report on early childhood education was submitted to the Edmonton Public School Board. The report said that the need for the "readiness program" instituted three years ago to accommodate children of school attendance age who were unable to cope with the regular Grade I program could be eliminated if a good kindergarten system were introduced. The report also placed strong emphasis on the need for greater parental involvement in early childhood education.[208]

On March 19-23, 1972, in Banff, the ATA sponsored its Second Alberta Seminar on Education Finance. At this seminar, ATA Executive Secretary Dr. B.T. Keeler presented a paper entitled Priorities in Educational Expenditures in which he mentioned universal kindergartens for five-year-olds on a half day basis at a cost of $14 million, as his top priority. With regard to financing the program, Dr. Keeler indicated enrollments in the elementary and secondary schools would diminish while the proportion of people in the labour force sharing the costs, would go up.[209]

Similarly, J.L. Tymko, Director of Economic Services with the ASTA pointed to early childhood education as the one area in which a substantial upward shift in expenditures could have the greatest long-run individual, social, political and economic return. He advocated immediate acceptance of a public policy principle of universal accessibility to early childhood education.[210]

At the same seminar, Mr. R.W. Chapman, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Alberta Chamber of Commerce, delivered a paper entitled Business Efficiency in Educational Planning. He pointed out that in Alberta over the past ten years, the population had increased by 25 percent but educational spending had increased by 228 percent. "It is a miracle,"he said,"that the system is not already bankrupt, and that miracle is due to the over-generosity of the taxpayers."[211]

On March 28, 1972, the second meeting of the Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education was held. A preliminary report of the Sub-committee on the Present Status of Early Childhood Education in Alberta was presented by the sub-committee's chairman, Mrs. Shanahan. The report contained facts and figures on the pre-school education situation. Appended to the report was a copy of the study by Dr. M. Horowitz entitled An Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education prepared for the ASTA in November 1971.

The meeting then discussed the present position and future prospects for early childhood education referring to Dr. Horowitz's study. Some of the points made were:

-The involvement and contribution of many agencies (as many as thirteen) interested in the welfare and education of young children, should be recognized. Kindergartens are only one of several arrangements possible.

- The committee should endorse the plan devised by Dr. Horowitz in his "Feasibility Study" and recommend that for the year 1971-72 four or five projects should be undertaken, each using a different model which would then be assessed. Some of these projects would require the coordinated effort of various agencies but would be funded by the Department of Education.
- It is important that the Department of Education maintain an active role in early childhood education including nursery schools or other such institutions.

A small "working committee" consisting of Dr. Kleparchuk (Chairman), Miss Luce Granger, Mrs. P. Shanahan and Mr. C. Rae was established to draw up specific proposals on pre-school education for the 1972-73 school year. It was agreed that Dr. Horowitz's paper might serve as a basis for their report.[212]

On April 2, 1972 the Edmonton Journal featured an article entitled "Co-op Kindergartens Growing in Popularity". Cooperative kindergartens, the article said, were beginning to catch on and to snowball as an alternative and supplement to other existing pre-school facilities in Edmonton. Most Co-op Kindergartens were financed and operated by parents utilizing Edmonton Public School Board facilities, they employed qualified teachers and followed the University of Alberta Kindergarten Program. Some consultative help was available on an informal basis from the School System.[213]

On May 13, 1972, the Edmonton Journal featured an article entitled "Kindergarten Scene Most Confused". Janis Blakey, Assistant Professor in Early Childhood Education at the University of Alberta, stated that some twenty cooperative kindergartens were, at that time, trying to get established for school opening in the fall. She suggested that these, as well as the ones already existing should get provincial funding.[214]

On June 22, the report on the Feasibility of a System-Wide Kindergarten Program was received and considered by the Edmonton Public School Board. The report indicated that space was presently available in sixty schools due to declining enrollments but that additional rooms (numbering fifty) would be required to accommodate the anticipated 5,500 to 6,000 pupils in the program. It was estimated that by fall of 1973, a sufficient number of teachers with early childhood education training would be available.[215]

On April 18, in the Alberta Legislature, Calgary-McKnight Conservative MLA Calvin Lee introduced a private member's motion calling on the cabinet to make early childhood education a major priority in its legislative program for the coming year and to investigate methods of implementation of a kindergarten program. The Legislature was also reminded of the election commitment made by the Conservatives on that issue.[216]

In April 1972, the Canadian Committee on Early Childhood (OMEP Canada) under the chairmanship of Dr. Myer Horowitz (the national chairman) presented a brief to the Right Honorable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, calling for the establishment of a Federal Bureau of Child Development.

A copy of the brief was also sent to all national, regional and provincial organizations who were in whole or in part, concerned with the rights of the Canadian child.

Agreement in principle on the establishment of a Federal Bureau of Child Development, was being sought from these organizations. It was also being recommended that similar requests be made to Provincial Governments for the establishment of Child Development Bureaus at the Provincial level. (A provincial version of the brief was available). Because of jurisdictional division of responsibility for child care and development, the brief stressed, the problem of coordinating programs was becoming increasingly acute as society was becoming more complex.

The brief viewed the coordination of services as essential at both the provincial and federal levels, and said that a Federal Bureau of Child Development should ensure that no services be neglected because they fall between jurisdictional boundaries.[217]

On May 11, 1972, the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education held its third meeting. Most of the meeting was devoted to a point by point discussion of the Report of the Working Committee. The report stated that the Government should consider the participation of governmental and non-governmental agencies in the funding of programs and indicated that programs would have to be phased in over a number of years. Specifically the report recommended the following:

For immediate action

1. That the Government encourage community agencies to submit proposals for projects which, by design, would establish a system in which the activities of the health, social services, cultural and educational units may be coordinated.
2. That the Government establish several pilot projects in early childhood development.
3. That there be provision for an educational component in early childhood programs funded by other government departments such as Day-Care programs.
4. That guidelines be developed for early childhood programs, personnel, facilities, and for the dissemination of this information.
5. That the Government appoint a coordinator of Early Childhood Programs.
6. That an advisory committee to the Coordinator of Early Childhood Programs be appointed.

For the next two or three years:

1. That the Government not endorse universal kindergartens at this time but instead, favor a flexible system for the testing of a variety of models.
2. That the Government establish a provincial Office of Early Childhood Development to provide continuing coordination of the development and administration of programs and services.
3. That an advisory committee to the Office of Early Childhood Development be appointed with its membership representing all groups involved in early childhood programs.
4. That the Government establish Early Childhood Assessment Centres which would examine children from birth to age eight to assess their physical, social and educational development and place them in appropriate programs.

During the discussion of the Report of the Working Committee the following points, among others, were made:

- School boards had not been mentioned in the report but their involvement was implied.
- An exploration of alternate models would be desirable.
- Priority should be accorded first to the handicapped, then to the inner-city children.
- Private agencies operating should be allowed to continue but given direction by educators.
- One of the biggest problems of pre-school education was coordination. The coordinator of early childhood education should be accountable to the Minister of Education, should have an Advisory Committee and the major thrusts should be along educational channels.
- The Departments of Education; Culture, Youth and Recreation; and Health and Social Development should coordinate their efforts in devising a funding program for pre-school education.

The Minister's Advisory Committee approved in principle the Report of the Working Committee as revised and indicated its wish to meet with the Minister of Education in order to discuss the Committee's recommendations with him.[218]

On June 16, 1972, the Commission on Educational Planning (CEP), headed by Dr. W.H. Worth, released its report entitled, A Choice of Futures and commonly referred to as the "Worth Report". The Commission had been created in June of 1969 under Minister of Education, Robert Clark. Among its "top ten" recommendations the "Worth Report" advocated:

> ...universal opportunity and selective experience in early education.

Worth stated that for education to become a lifelong process schooling should begin at the earliest age at which a child may derive benefit and furthermore, the principle of public responsibility for free education should apply to young children as it does for older children.

The three major functions of early education before age six were identified as stimulation, identification and socialization, with the overall purpose being self-fulfillment rather than merely readiness or academic training in the traditional sense.

Worth pointed out that while several Canadian provinces had high participation rates in pre-school programs, Alberta remained the only one without established plans for such publicly-supported endeavors. Yet during the Commission hearings, Worth remarked, overwhelming support had been found for publicly-supported pre-school programs. In fact, he stated, no other single issue had been discussed as often with such a high level of agreement between private citizens and professional educators alike. "It is time for us to act upon so clear a mandate", Worth wrote.

In expanding upon the early childhood recommendation, four points were singled out for special emphasis:

- Provision of universal opportunity for all five-year-old children. This would make available on an optional basis, one year of guided learning prior to entry into the basic education system.
- Provision of selective experience for disadvantaged and/or handicapped three and four year old children. This would offer specialized early education opportunities, also on an optional basis, for exceptional children requiring particular attention.

- The integration of day-care programs with early education opportunities. This would view day-care services primarily as an educational rather than as a welfare or health activity.
- The establishing of "Early Ed." a televised learning package to ensure province-wide availability of early education programs.

The "Worth Report" advocated variable sponsorship for the early childhood education programs, allowing the broadly-based agencies already offering such programs, to continue to do so.

On the topic of governance Worth advocated that at the regional or local level, decisions regarding finance priorities and other broad policy matters should be taken by the school board, community organization or other agency offering the early education program.

Regarding coordination, Worth recommended the consolidation of existing programs by transferring day-care centres, playschools, nursery schools, "Headstart" pre-school programs and the registry for Handicapped Children, from the Department of Health and Social Development to the Department of Education.

According to the report, the Department of Education, should be reorganized into two departments: the Department of Advanced Education, having within it the Higher Education and Further Education divisions; and the Department of Education, consisting of the Early Education and Basic Education divisions.

A major and immediate task for the Division of Early

Education, Worth pointed out, would be to interrelate the various early childhood programs into a unified approach. The most serious weakness in the present arrangement he stated, was that it tended to lead to a situation in which "everybody's business is nobody's business".[219]

Following the release of the "Worth Report", although he made no commitments, the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman expressed his personal support of a universal optional kindergarten program. He said there was no question in his mind that a five-year-old youngster could benefit from a kindergarten program but that such a program should probably be phased-in on a gradual basis.[220]

On June 19, 1972, the Edmonton Journal featured an editorial in which it advised the government that the time was long past when new projects could be implemented just because they seemed to be a good idea. Considering that Dr. Worth had been a strong public supporter of kindergartens for some time, the Journal observed, the kindergarten recommendation contained in the "Worth Report" was perhaps the least surprising. "...It is no argument at all", the editorial argued, "...to suggest as does the 'Worth Report', that Alberta should have a universal kindergarten program because of such wide support for it and because Alberta is the only province without one... ."[221]

At the ASTA Education Council meeting on June 28, 1972, the recommendations of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education were presented for information along with a paper entitled Proposed Position for the ASTA on Early Childhood Education, drafted by Education Council member, Dr. A. Griffiths. In her Position Paper Dr. Griffiths advocated: that kindergartens be the responsibility of the regular school system; that adequately trained teachers be provided; and that generally the recommendations of the CEP N-12 Education Task Force be accepted. Closer integration of services between the Department of Health and Social Development and the Department of Education, was also recommended.[222]

In August 1972, the Alberta Human Resources Research Council submitted its evaluation report entitled An Early Childhood Education Pilot Project in Calgary and Edmonton which was prepared by H.N. Watts, R.J. Pacey and E. McBride. In the spring of 1971, AHRRC had been commissioned to undertake the external evaluation of the Early Childhood Pilot Project in the city core areas of Edmonton and Calgary which had been initiated by the government a year earlier.

While the evaluation report did put forward conclusions and recommendations from the findings of the study which were directed primarily at the government, it pointed out that it was not its intention to formulate a policy for early childhood education in Alberta. The elaboration of policy statements which was to have been a component of the report originally, was deleted when the due date for the report was advanced by four months as a result of the demise of AHRRC, shortly after the Provincial Election of 1971.

In its "Conclusions and Recommendations" the evaluation report made the following observations, among others:

- There is a need to examine alternative models for early childhood education in Alberta, as was called for in the rationale for the pilot project.
- Sufficient time must be allowed for project planning and appropriate research management.
- The Request for Proposal concept is a good one if the government intends to examine innovative efforts in education from private as well as public enterprises. Assistance should be provided to groups however, for the development of proposals.
- A future project should explore the concept of integrating educational, social, and health services in communities, and also develop a plan for the identification of children under four years of age who should be served by an early childhood education program.
- Readiness for Grade I should not be the major goal of early childhood education programs.
- The Inglewood program utilizing the committee approach should continue to be funded so that it has the opportunity to develop over a three to four year period so that it can be properly assessed. 223

On August 18th, 1972, ASTA President Harald Gunderson revealed in a news release the result of a survey conducted to determine the priorities of school boards across the province.[224] This was done as a result of the Special General Meeting held by the ASTA in June, at which the Minister of Education had asked the trustees to indicate to him their priorities, mentioning early childhood education specifically, among other areas.[225] Mr. Gunderson stated in the news release that, surprisingly, strong support for universal kindergartens did not appear in the survey results.[226] He did not mention however that the return rate for the survey was low and that some large urban boards had not replied.[227]

On September 5, 1972, the Edmonton Separate School Board, in reaction to the recently published results of the ASTA survey, reiterated its support of a universal kindergarten program.[228]

That same month the ATA Early Childhood Education Council submitted a brief to the Cabinet Committee on Education entitled Alternatives in Early Childhood Education. The brief commended the high priority and consideration attributed to the welfare of young children by the report of the Commission on Educational Planning.

"There is", the ATA ECE Council insisted, "a definite need for alternatives to be generated and explored in regard to such facets of early education as: programs, sponsorship, allocation of children,... and program delivery systems." With regard to governance, the ATA Early Childhood Education Council brief suggested that whatever the structure adopted at the provincial level, it appeared necessary to provide for representation from all key fields concerned with the welfare of young children, and that this representation carry through to the local level.

The primary role of the provincial structure, the brief explained, would be to allocate monies and to provide other support services to the local levels. The Director of the provincial body should be a person who is recognized in the field as an early childhood educator, the brief stated.

In closing, the ATA ECE Council offered its assistance to the Government and the Department of Education in developing plans to implement the CEP's proposal to provide educational experiences to young children.[229]

On September 29, 1972, the Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations indicated, in a letter to the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman, its concern that insufficient time had been allowed for the public to react to the recommendations of the "Worth Report". Because of the difficult language of the report and the scope and implications of the recommendations, the AFHSA asked that the government pause before implementing any of the recommendations.[230]

Also in September a paper by Dr. J.S. Hrabi and W.L. Hill entitled Reorganization of the Department of Education[231] was distributed widely among the Department of Education staff.[232] The paper was intended:

1. To stimulate thought and reaction.
2. To provide possibilities for consideration.

It was also intended (among other objectives): "To provide a reaction to the recommendations regarding departmental organization in the Worth Commission Report".[233]

In preparing the paper, the authors referred to various materials from the Department of Education staff including Directors' reports from several branches to the Division of Instruction staff meetings.[234]

Regarding Early Education, the paper reviewed Dr. Worth's suggestion in A Choice of Futures calling for the establishment of a Division of Basic Education and a Division of Early Education, each headed by a Deputy Minister reporting to one Minister. Among the advantages of such a scheme it was mentioned that:

a) It would emphasize early education.

b) It would provide for an easier development of alternative methods of delivery.

c) It would free Early Education to some degree from the dominance of the Grade I - XII system.

Among the disadvantages of the Worth proposal the following were mentioned:

a) This organization would raise a coordination problem.

b) Priority decisions (without departmental recommendation) would fall (directly) to the Minister of Education.

c) This organizational model would likely lead to the employment of a larger staff than would the combined model.

The paper recommended therefore that the concept of two divisions of the Department of Education, each headed by a Deputy Minister, as recommended by Worth be rejected unless the government decided to proceed with all four aspects of early education contained in A Choice of Futures.

Favouring an organizational structure in which Early Education would constitute one of several units in an Instructional Services Division headed by an Assistant Deputy Minister,[225] the paper recommended that a "directorate of early education" be established and that it be responsible for the education of all students prior to year one of basic education, including the handicapped.[236]

On October 1, 1972, Dr. H.I. Hastings was appointed Director of Early Childhood Services. Although he continued to carry responsibilities in the Curriculum Branch on into December, Dr. Hastings did begin some developmental work in connection with a policy statement on early childhood in November 1972.[237] His appointment, however, was not publicly announced.

Also, in early October, L.W. Downey Research Associates Ltd., was asked to prepare a policy paper on early childhood education for the Government of Alberta, as a follow up to AHRRC's evaluation of the government-sponsored experimental pre-school program in Edmonton and Calgary. In the preparation of this paper, material prepared for or by the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education was made available.[238] Upon completion of a first draft, a "reaction committee", consisting of Mr. N.Chamchuk, Mr. E. Bliss, Dr. H.I. Hastings, Dr. M. Horowitz, Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi, Dr. E. Ingram and Dr. B.T. Keeler reviewed the position paper and made suggestions for its modification.[239]

In the first week of October 1972, the Parent Co-op Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton submitted a brief to the Government on the recommendations of the "Worth Report". The brief stated that the PCKA "want tax-supported, parent-involved kindergartens, in the Edmonton Public and

Separate School systems in every school which wants one and has enough 4½ to 5½ year old children to fill a class...". Claiming to be representing sixteen hundred parents from twenty Parent Co-op Kindergartens, the brief called for the introduction of such a program by September of 1973. Regarding the kindergarten starting age, the brief recommended that it be 4½ years of age instead of five, as proposed by Worth. The PCKA also stated its disagreement with the "Worth Report" concerning the sponsorship of kindergartens by a multiplicity of organizations and stressed that tax-supported kindergartens must be under the guidance and administration of school boards. The brief pointed out that parent-organized kindergartens were brought about because of dissatisfaction with commercially-operated programs.

In conclusion the brief urged the Government to act now and reminded it that in the summer of 1971 the people of Alberta had elected a "NOW" government which had promised to be responsive to the needs of the people.[240] In addition to submitting the brief and also a petition to the government, the PCKA carried out an organized campaign to influence public and government opinion. Members participated in "talk back" open-line radio shows, appeared on television a few times, sent hundreds of letters to their MLAs and obtained press coverage of their activities.[241]

On October 12, 1972, the PCKA held a meeting to discuss kindergartens. Six MLAs who were in attendance promised a "clear and unequivocal statement" on the future of kindergarten programs in Alberta during the fall session of the legislature. Mrs. Bernice Youck, PCKA president, indicated that while no promises were made, she was optimistic and felt that the MLAs were sympathetic to the PCKA view. The Minister of Education Lou Hyndman was represented at that meeting by Dr. E.J.M. Church.[242]

At about that time, the EPSB discussed the recommendations of the "Worth Report" and spent most of its meeting debating the desirability of universal kindergartens. A motion asking that the board take a stand against universal kindergartens in Alberta was lost in a tie vote.[243]

On October 13, 1972 an ASTA news release publicized the Trustees' Association reaction to the "top ten" proposals contained in the "Worth Report". Mrs. Lois Campbell, chairman of the Education Committee indicated that the ASTA, representing more than 150 school boards throughout the province, was in full agreement with the provision of universal opportunities and selective experience in education as recommended by Dr. Worth.

The ASTA brief indicated that it favoured universal kindergartens for children aged four-and-a-half-years-old rather than five as stated in the report because regular school admission age was already five-and-a-half years. The selective experience component of early childhood education was probably of more importance than universal opportunity, the brief said. It also indicated that school systems were the logical agencies to coordinate or offer early childhood programs.

The implementation of the early childhood concept, the ASTA brief continued, would require participation on the part of parents, teachers, students and other service agencies in the community, so that the full benefit of their early experiences would not be lost. Finally, the brief recommended that the Minister of Advanced Education institute programs in the faculties of education stressing the advantages of early childhood experiences.[244]

On October 15, 1972 the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association also presented a brief to the Cabinet Committee on Education in reaction to the "Worth Report". On the early childhood education recommendation, the ACSTA stated that universal opportunity for all five-year-old children (kindergarten) should be instituted no later than the fall of 1973, subject only to the availability of qualified personnel. The brief suggested that private agencies should be encouraged to continue working in this field, and further, that subject to appropriate regulations, they become eligible for considerable financial and professional support.[245]

Also in October of 1972, the Alberta Teachers' Association submitted a brief to the Cabinet Committee on Education in reaction to the "top ten" proposals contained in the "Worth Report". In its brief, the ATA endorsed the concept of universal opportunity and selective experience in early education as proposed by Worth but opposed the recommendation that community organizations and public bodies other than school boards operate early education programs. Early education programs should be under the direction of qualified teachers and operated in schools, the ATA brief stated.[246]

On October 24th, 1972 a report was submitted to the Calgary Public School Board providing information on the feasibility and projected costs of the four following alternatives:

1. lowering the admittance age;
2. the double entry system;
3. the possibility of universal pre-school classes in the Calgary Public School System in 1973;
4. readiness tests.

The report stated that the universal kindergarten alternative would require 129 additional teachers and alternate accommodation for approximately sixty-one rooms of kindergarten students. Total cost of initiating a universal kindergarten program in the Calgary Public Schools would cost slightly over $2 million, the report said, and the possibility of its implementation would depend largely upon the Provincial Government making grants available for kindergarten children.

With regard to the situation in Alberta, the report observed that a major paradox exists:

> School boards and members of the Legislature should reflect the wishes of their constituents, yet although all indications are that the public wants and seeks universal opportunities for pre-school classes, no such move has been made in Alberta."[247]

On November 6, 1972, in Edmonton, the ASTA held its annual convention. In his address to the delegates, ASTA President Harald Gunderson attacked the "Worth Report" and in particular its recommendations on early childhood education. He questioned whether in a year when the provincial budget was chalking up its largest deficit ever, new and unproven programs should have been considered. "If early schooling is so important", he argued, "why make it optional... (and benefit)... the ones who need early exposure least?"[248]

Later, delegates voted a resolution urging the Minister of Advanced Education to institute programs in the Faculties of Education whereby all teachers would be made aware of the advantages and disadvantages of early childhood educational experiences.[249]

On November 14, 1972, Opportunities for Infants: A Policy Paper by L.W. Downey Research Associates Ltd., was submitted to the Government. In the first part of the paper, Downey summarized research information relating to the processes of child development. He referred to the article appearing in Harpers by Moore and Moore entitled "The Dangers of Early Schooling" to point out that "...early formal schooling, in the intellectual training mode, though it sometimes results in early gains, is as likely to retard subsequent development as it is to facilitate it."[250]

From the research information reviewed, Downey concluded that an ideal in opportunities for early development, should include (among others):

- a rich environment, providing for stimulation in all areas of human development during the early years, from birth to eight;

- parent involvement in the enrichment program;
- careful articulation of all early experience.

Turning to the Alberta context, Downey indicated that the Government was then contributing very minimally to existing early childhood programs and that although it appeared supportive, at least in a moral sense, of these programs it was not exercising any kind of leadership or coordinating role.

The wave of public opinion in favor of publicly-supported pre-school education, which has been mounting over the past few years, has now virtually become a demand, the paper stated.

Looking into the future, Downey predicted that the need and the pressure for more early childhood development opportunities would increase. From the available knowledge about early childhood development and about the current Alberta scene, Downey inferred a set of principles of early childhood development, and elaborated a set of practical and political guidelines for the government.

The following Situational Guidelines were recommended:

- The case for Government intervention in early childhood development is compelling. The prevailing climate of opinion is that early childhood development is far too important to be left to parents and communities. The time for Government action is now.
- Government's intention to become involved in early childhood development should be declared as a government-wide, interdepartmental commitment.

- In some important ways such as the desire to have universal kindergartens, prevailing public opinion as to what ought to be done, is at variance with the research evidence as to what is best to do. In order to reconcile the competing demands, it is suggested that the electorate should be informed that the Government will engage in a search for the best means of achieving the purposes set out by the electorate.

- The first and most obvious way in which the Government might intervene is through the establishment of a coordinating, facilitating, and support mechanism which would serve to rationalize programs, to expand and coordinate opportunities, and to build upon the good programs that now exist.

- Government should avoid "taking over" the field completely. A good deal of thought, energy, and initiative has been contributed to the field of early childhood development by various professional and citizen groups. This commitment and expertise must not be lost.

In the third part of his paper, Downey suggested some priorities and strategies. He also examined the main ideas on early childhood education advanced by the Commission on Educational Planning and by the Minister's Advisory Committee. Downey commented that the approach advocated by the Minister's Advisory Committee appeared more flexible than that of the "Worth Report".He added however that the Committee seemed to have some doubts as to whether universal kindergartens should be a top priority, and also some misgivings about making early childhood development the primary responsibility of the Department of Education.

In determining priorities, Downey indicated that both the importance of the program for young children, and the kind of program most appropriate for Government to become involved in, should be considered. With regard to the former consideration he pointed out that common sense and research evidence tended to suggest:

- that early prevention is preferable over later remedial treatment, and
- that the special case deserves special care ahead of the general population.

Downey then classified all programs for enhancing opportunities of young children into four major types in terms of the clients served, and suggested that these also be their order of priority:

1. fair start programs,
2. personal rehabilitative programs,
3. environment equalizing programs,
4. general enrichment programs.

Finally, as an illustration of possible strategy for the government to adopt, Downey suggested the following:

1. Appoint an "ad hoc", interdepartmental planning force to assemble information and to draft legislation and policy statements for spring.
2. December 1972: announce policy and introduce legislation and budget.
3. February-March 1973 (sitting of Legislature) create Early Childhood Authority and Advisory Committee.
4. March 1973: authority designs plans for preliminary thrusts.
5. Announce new programs.

6. Launch some programs.
7. September 1973: develop longer range plans for lower priority programs.

In conclusion, Downey stated the personal beliefs which undergirded his position:

- the provision of adequate opportunities for the fullest development of its young children should be one of the top priorities of any society;
- the provision of such responsibility is, in part, the responsibility of the home and in part, the responsibility of society;
- the Government is the only agency with the powers and resources necessary to coordinate opportunities, to fill gaps and to provide special support as needed;
- opportunities for young children should take many forms and should involve many institutions. 251

Also in November 1972, a paper by Mr. C.D. Ledgerwood entitled A Proposal Regarding the Systematic Implementation of Early Childhood Services in the Province of Alberta, found its way to people within the Department of Education who were actively concerned with the early childhood education question.

The paper, written as part of a doctoral program course at the University of Alberta set out a strategy, using systems theory, to arrive at a conceptualization of a total system of early childhood services.

What was needed, Ledgerwood argued, was a system in which education would be but one element in a comprehensive "package" of early childhood services. Early Childhood Services, he said, must not become simply an extension of the education system, and the temptation for educators to want to "go to it alone" must be tempered with the realization that the home, the community, and other professions have much to contribute to early development of children.

As an adaptive system, Ledgerwood stated, Early Childhood Services should demonstrate eight characteristics. The characteristics mentioned were those summarized in the final paragraphs of the "Worth Report". Ledgerwood then set out to design a system of early childwood services satisfying those characteristics as applied to: needs of three to five year olds, government policies, programs, structures and time. He insisted that the universal kindergartens be optional and that they require parental involvement.

Regarding the structure of the Early Childhood Services System, Ledgerwood stated:

1. The structure should permit involvement of many people and agencies.
2. Communication links must be open, the organization chart must be as flat as possible, and expertise from a variety of disciplines must be brought to bear on common problems.
3. The structure must be subject to constant review and change.

At the provincial level, the Early Childhood Services System should be the joint responsibility of the provincial departments which have a concern with the development of young children such as Health and Social Development, Education, and Culture, Youth and Recreation. These, he said, would come together in an "Inter-Departmental Directorate of Early Childhood Services." Political responsibility for Early Childhood Services would rest with the Cabinet Committee on Early Childhood Services which would appoint an Advisory Committee from the lay public. A Director responsible to the Cabinet Committee would have the administrative responsibility of the system and would ensure the integration of early childhood services.

Funding for the directorate would be jointly assumed by the departments served, Ledgerwood stated.

At the local level, early Childhood Services would be the responsibility of an Early Childhood Services board consisting of five members. Three of these would be elected for a two year term during municipal elections while the other two would be appointed, one by the local school board and the other by the local board of Health.

In conclusion, Ledgerwood suggested that the fact that Alberta has lagged behind other parts of Canada in the provision of services to pre-school children, did present a magnificent opportunity to move in bold new directions.[252]

On November 20, the Downey Policy Paper, Opportunities for Infants was tabled in the Legislature. The following day the Edmonton Journal carried a story headlined "Report Doubts Benefits of Kindergartens". Education Minister, Lou Hyndman indicated that because of growing controversy about the worth of universal kindergartens, these might be given a lower priority in the pre-school education legislation to be introduced by the government in the spring.[253]

On November 21, 1972, the Calgary Herald headlined "Early Education can wait; Hyndman won't rush plan". Mr. Hyndman said that the government wouldn't rush into costly decisions on early education programs and that he himself agreed with the marked caution expressed in the Downey Report. The Herald article also mentioned the hazards of early schooling as reported by Downey in Opportunities for Infants.[254]

On November 22, 1972 upon learning of the lower priority accorded to kindergartens, Mrs. B. Youck, President of the Parent Co-Operative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton said that they were "disappointed and disheartened by the announcement." [255]

The Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman was invited to attend a meeting organized by the PCKA to discuss the situation. He did not attend the meeting but sent a letter to Mrs. Youck in which he assured her that the government had not adopted Opportunities for Infants as its policy and that no final decisions had yet been taken regarding the early childhood situation.[256]

On November 24-25, 1972, the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education held its fourth meeting. At the November 24th session, the Minister of Education attended in accordance with a wish expressed by the committee, to discuss the committee's recommendations.[257] Also present at this meeting was Dr.H.I. Hastings (who had been appointed Director of Early Childhood Services on October 1, 1972 but the appointment had not been announced).

The role of the Committee was discussed because the absence of clear direction in this regard had been perceived as a problem. The Minister indicated that while the Government had no policy commitments in the area of early childhood education as yet, it was an area of interest. A function of the Advisory Committee, he said, might be to suggest alternatives for consideration. Mr. Hyndman stressed that programs devised would co-operatively cut across traditional lines of government and that programs already developed in the public and private sectors should not be abolished. The Minister further explained that the Government was looking at a long term program for increased services and greater co-ordination of existing services probably under the leadership of the Department of Education.

In response to questions, the Minister indicated that any change in program could not take effect before September of 1973 at the earliest. Although action on certain priority areas to fill gaps might be possible at that time, he said, a universal kindergarten system would not be possible until later.

It was mentioned that the general public did not see the difference between kindergarten and less formal early childhood experiences. As a result, the announcement concerning kindergartens had been interpreted to mean that there would be no early childhood programs. Concern was also expressed that many people were gaining the impression that all kindergarten experiences were detrimental to children.

Discussion also took place about possible organizational structures and about coordination between Department of Education branches, government departments and between early childhood service agencies.

A motion was passed asking that someone be appointed at a senior level within the Department of Education to coordinate early childhood activities and to give leadership to this field. It was also decided that in addition to the Advisory Committee to the Minister of Education on Early Childhood, that an advisory committee to the Committee of Ministers (Education; Health and Social Development; Culture, Youth and Recreation) be formed with membership of lay people and professionals associated with each of these departments, including at least one member of the present Advisory Committee.

At the November 25th session of the meeting, Mr. Hyndman was again in attendance. Also present was the Deputy Minister of Education Dr.E.K. Hawkesworth and Dr.H.I. Hastings. The committee discussed Opportunities for Infants beginning at the "Strategies" section. In general, the Downey recommendations were supported.

It was suggested that an "office of early childhood development" could carry out the functions described in the Downey paper for implementing an early childhood program.

The Minister requested that the committee give thought to alternative policies which could then be discussed at the next meeting. A subcommittee consisting of Dr.H.I. Hastings and Mrs. P. Shanahan was formed to draft an initial policy statement for consideration. (It may be noted that a preliminary framework for the Operational Plans for Early

Childhood Services had already been presented to the Deputy Minister by Dr. Hastings on November 12, 1972).[258]

It was suggested that some program of action could be prepared with a view to a public announcement in February or March of 1973. It was also suggested that a plan be outlined concerning subsequent action in order to allay the fears of private kindergartens and to dampen the unrealistic expectations of over-eager kindergarten supporters. A timeline of about five years was mentioned, with specific action to be taken within the year if possible.

The role of the Federal Government in funding nursery and day-care centres was mentioned, along with the possible implications of such involvement on Alberta policy decisions.[259]

On November 27, 1972, Harald Gunderson, President of the ASTA, published a lengthy article in the Edmonton Journal and the Calgary Albertan, stating his opposition to universal kindergartens. On November 25, this same article in a greatly summarized form, had also appeared in the Calgary Herald.

In his article, Gunderson stated that Alberta was currently witnessing one of its most controversial educational developments - the drive for earlier schooling for all children. The massive lobby for kindergartens, he stated, appeared to be ignoring or overlooking:

- the possible damage to young children as a result of such an experience, pointed out in recent research;

- the formidable expenditure in tax dollars which will be necessary.

"We need a full scale debate", Mr. Gunderson stated, "... before early schooling is thrust upon them (the public) by well-intentioned educators and legislators." "Albertans", he commented,"have shown good sense in rejecting the kindergarten myth." The province should make more money available for special educational projects and elementary grades, Mr. Gunderson argued, but school boards should decide where that money is to be spent. "Failing that",he concluded, "the matter should be put to plebiscite."[260]

In the Edmonton Journal, the Gunderson article was followed by another article written by Journal writer Harry Midgley arguing in favour of schooling for five-year-olds. Mr. Midgley observed that "a powerful and seemingly co-ordinated campaign is being waged against the long overdue provision of educational facilities for the very young (in Alberta)."

He identified as prominent supporters of that campaign, the Minister of Education and the President of ASTA. Midgley underlined that while the Downey paper did advocate giving priority to programs for the disadvantaged, it contained nothing to rule out granting support to kindergartens of the right kind.

Commenting on the idea put forward by Mr. Hyndman that several government departments and various public and private agencies might become involved in providing services to young children, Mr. Midgley explained that the danger with such an approach was that action in the pre-school field would be fragmented and would get bogged down or diluted.[261]

On November 28, Mr. Hyndman stated in an interview following an Edmonton Gold Bar Progressive Conservative Association meeting, that a start could be made on an early childhood education program in Alberta by September 1973. He indicated that people should not get their expectations up for a universal kindergarten program, but that a phased-in early childhood education program was possible. After the meeting Mr. Hyndman explained that the real question was how an early childhood program would operate.[262]

On the same day the Calgary Albertan carried an editorial entitled "Pre-schooling's Time Must Come Before Long". The editorial interpreted Mr. Hyndman's cautious position as being a prudent one. Referring to the ongoing debate, the Albertan pointed out that the early education philosophy outlined in the"Worth Report"would probably avoid the hazards which concern Mr. Gunderson and even if it didn't avoid them all, the benefits would far outweigh any difficulties. In conclusion, the Albertan commented that the government must not confuse caution with procrastination, and must keep the machinery rolling which would eventually provide Alberta with a first-class early education program.[263]

On the following day, the Edmonton Journal featured an editorial on the topic of kindergartens. Referring to the Edmonton Separate School Board's recent reaffirmation of belief in the need for universal kindergartens in response to expressions of doubt about their value by the Minister of Education, the Journal stated that this appeared to be a simple statement of faith lacking objective relevance. Because of limited funds, the editorial argued,"it should be obvious that rational choices among the alternatives will have to be made ... . Kindergartens... are not the panacea for educational ills they were once believed to be," the editorial concluded.[264]

During this debate being carried on in the newspapers, letters received by the Government concerning the pre-school issue ran approximately nine to one in support of kindergartens.[265]

On December 6, Dr. M. Horowitz, in reply to a request from Mr. Hyndman, sent to the Minister his reaction to Mr.Gunderson's article which had appeared in the Edmonton Journal.[266] Dr. Horowitz mentioned that on the surface, Mr. Gunderson appeared to be saying what some (including Dr. Horowitz) had been advocating, namely, that the government not necessarily opt for kindergarten as the only approach to early education. Dr. Horowitz then proceeded to identify some fundamental differences between Mr. Gunderson's position and his own.

Regarding Mr. Gunderson's statement that "we can't afford kindergartens",Dr. Horowitz commented that such proposals made were based on their pedagogical soundness and not only on financial considerations.

Concerning the argument that early schooling could harm young children, Dr. Horowitz indicated that such a statement was not only weak, but also grossly inaccurate. He pointed out that the National Society for the Study of Education had recently published a Yearbook on early childhood education which identified many more reputable sources than the Hewitt Research Centre mentioned by Mr. Gunderson. Dr. Horowitz questioned whether Mr. Gunderson really was interested in supporting remediation and repair, rather than prevention.

On the suggestion for a plebiscite on the matter, Dr. Horowitz asked why this procedure would be more appropriate for determining expenditures on education than for public health and social development programs.

In conclusion he stated that there was a danger in putting all who questioned universal kindergartens as the top priority for 1973 in the same camp. Dr. Horowitz said:

> I believe that top-notch programs can be developed in a kindergarten setting, but that it should not be top priority immediately because during the transition period, those who need the experiences the most should be the first to be considered. That is very different from putting forward an argument that the whole idea is wrong because society can't afford it and because the experience might harm young children. 267

On December 6, 1972, the Calgary Herald carried a story in which it described the early childhood education issue as having turned into one of the most complicated educational problems that the provincial government had ever faced.

"The pressures on the government are enormous", the article stated, "but at the same time the government is facing unprecedented pressure to keep education costs down. ...The rift is deep," said the article. The ASTA had gone on record as favouring universal kindergartens, yet their president, Harald Gunderson, was personally voicing strong opposition to it. The Government had announced a partial position on the issue, but this had only increased debate. Some people, the article continued, had interpreted the Minister of Education's statement following the tabling of the Downey paper in the legislature as having abandoned the idea of a universal pre-school program, while to others, the government was merely looking before it lept.[268]

On December 18, 1972, the Alberta Association for Young Children (AAYC) submitted a brief to the Department of Education and also to the Department of Social Development in which it communicated the conclusions reached at a two day conference held in Red Deer in October. Speakers at the October Conference had included among several others: Dr. Horowitz, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta; Mel Finlay, Assistant Director, PSS, Department of Health and Social Development; Sheila Campbell, Director of Day-Care, City of Edmonton; Burn Evans, Assistant-Director, Youth Services Branch, Department of Youth, Culture and Recreation. The main recommendations of the brief were:[269]

1. Establishment of a special body to administer early childhood programs. This body under whatever auspices it operates, should ensure communication and cooperation among all

government departments, professions, disciplines, and citizens presently concerned with young children.

2. Goals and guidelines should be set for early childhood programs.
3. Consultative services and a resource inventory should be set up for early childhood programs.
4. Certification for personnel for early childhood programs should require specific training.
5. Present delivery systems for programs to young children should be permitted to continue and receive adequate funding and support services.
6. Diversity of delivery systems should be encouraged and expanded to provide eventual universal availability for all young children. 270

AAYC Chairman, Sheila Campbell, said that members were fairly evenly divided on the issue of whether early childhood programs should be under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education or the Department of Social Development, but conceded that the latter might have a slight edge.[271]

On December 15, 1972 an internal draft of Operational Plans containing several alternatives for each policy statement was presented to the Deputy Minister by Dr. Hastings. Between December 15, 1972 and February 15, 1973, several meetings were held between the Minister of Education Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Hastings, resulting in the elimination of a number of alternatives in connection with each policy statement being proposed in Operational Plans.[272]

Those policy proposals had also been discussed with, and had the support of the Associate Deputy Minister, Dr. Hrabi, who was Dr. Hastings' immediate superior.[273]

On January 18, 1973, the ASTA Education Council received and discussed the report which they had commissioned entitled: Integrated Services Approach to Early Childhood Education by Mrs. Joyce Krysowaty.[274]

In the first part of her paper, Mrs. Krysowaty reviewed projects from the American and British scene, as well as from the Alberta scene. Regarding the Alberta projects, she stated that the establishment of the Innovative Project Fund by the Department of Education, the diffusion of ideas and information from projects in the United States and England, and the 1970 CELDIC Report had provided impetus for the development of programs for disadvantaged children.

Under the heading Cooperative Compensatory Preschool Projects she classified Alberta projects which involved cooperation with another agencies and/or parents. Two projects were briefly examined: the High Prairie Early Childhood Development Through Use of Environmental Control Centres and the Edmonton Separate School District Sacred Heart Community School Growing Up Together.

Under the heading Other Cooperative Projects, Mrs. Krysowaty reviewed: the Grande Prairie School-Community Project for the Early Recognition and Remediation of Learning Disabilities; the Edmonton Cooperative Early Childhood Education Project (CECEP); and the Pincher Creek Meeting the Needs of Primary Children by Improving Communication and Cooperation among Community Agencies.

Summing up the projects reviewed, Mrs.Krysowaty stated that attempts to better meet the needs of the disadvantaged children had resulted in efforts to centralize and/or coordinate the services provided to young children by different agencies and also had resulted in efforts aimed at making them part of an integrated whole.

Mrs. Krysowaty concluded her review of projects involving integrative services by pointing out that:

- The Pincher Creek study had documented the need for an integrated service approach in Alberta.
- The High Prairie project had demonstrated that a cooperative approach is indeed operable.
- Present government structures and traditional teacher training courses render such undertakings difficult in Alberta.

In the second part of the paper an "integrated service model", within the context of early childhood education, was proposed. The model was intended as a basic plan from which specific plans could be formulated and piloted.

Its central concept consisted of a core multidisciplinary team attached to a pre-school unit. Two bodies were attached to this core team:

1. A coordinating and directing board which is mainly responsible with policymaking and administrative matters.
2. A resource bank of "services-at-large" potentially available to members of the core team.

One of the basic assumptions upon which the model was based was that "an integrated and coordinated approach to the delivery of services to young children, will maximize the possibilities of the resultant service being comprehensive, potent, and relatively economical".[275]

The Krysowaty paper was accepted by the ASTA Executive Council at their meeting of February 24-25, 1973, at which time the Education Council was asked to see to it that the study was distributed to the appropriate authorities.[276]

On January 18, 1973 in Calgary, the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education held its fifth meeting.[277]

Present at this meeting besides the regular Committee members were: the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman; the Deputy Minister, Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth and Dr. H.I. Hastings, representing Dr. E. Torgunrud.

The meeting was devoted to study and discussion of the confidential paper Possible Operational Plans for Early Childhood Services drafted mainly by Dr. Hastings.[278]

The Possible Operational Plans was an attempt to provide an operational perspective for "a comprehensive and coordinated approach to meeting the generally identified needs of young children." It reviewed Early Childhood Services as a separate branch of the Department of Education whose influence and services would be the result of the coordinated activities of four government departments: Education; Health and Social Development; Culture, Youth and Recreation; and Advanced Education.

Six basic beliefs were stated as underlying the main features of the plan:

1. Early Childhood Education is an important

dimension but only one dimension in a comprehensive system of Early Childhood Services (ECS),

2. Provincial and local structures through which ECS are provided, must encourage and attempt to maximize the involvement of parents. ECS must include the provision of educational, nutritional, social and health services.
3. Services offered by ECS need not develop simultaneously. Priorities must be set for phasing-in programs.
4. Every effort should be made to avoid labelling children.
5. ECS should not be viewed as a downward extension of the present structured Grade I program.
6. ECS should be provided on an optional basis.

The paper stated the Government's philosophy, policies and priorities for implementing Early Childhood Services. Each policy statement was followed by a brief explanation outlining the reasons for the policy. The major bases for the policies, it was mentioned, were provided by: The Worth Commission report; the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education, and Downey's Opportunities for Infants.

The major goal of ECS was expressed as:

> to strengthen the sense of dignity and selfworth within the child and his family.

The paper stated, that beginning in 1973-74, the Department of Education in conjunction with other government departments and local agencies would support on a selective basis, school districts and private institutions or agencies which offer approved Early Childhood programs.

The paper explained that Government support of both the private and public sector might encourage creativity and flexibility in developing alternative models. Top priority would be given to meeting the needs of the physically, mentally and socially handicapped.

The basic priciples for the organizational structure of ECS were essentially those characteristics of an adaptive system listed in the Legerwood paper with the exception that the last one was omitted.

The main dimensions of need were then identified as: organizational structure, decision-making, using and improving human resources, and instructional programs and support services.

Concerning the "organizational structure" at the provincial level, the Hastings paper proposed three alternative models: autonomous, coordinated and institutional. These corresponding essentially to the three basic modes of program operation, according to locus of authority as defined and utilized in the "Worth Report".[279]

The Autonomous Model was basically that suggested by Ledgerwood in his paper.

The Coordinated Interdepartmental Model proposed that the government departments involved would remain independent, retaining ultimate responsibility, but would agree to coordinate their efforts through a Coordinating Council which would include representatives from the various stakeholder groups. A Director of ECS would exercise leadership in facilitating coordination and integration in the delivery of services.

Under the Institutional ECE Model, the Early Childhood Education Directorate would operate as a Branch of the Department of Education, would emphasize the education component, and would essentially be an extension downward of the primary school.

The Hastings draft paper then applied the three alternative models to the ECS structure at the local level.

Regarding the "decision-making" dimension, the paper stated that introduction of ECS would be a local responsibility and that proposals ("must or should") have the written recommendation of the local ECS Advisory Committee before any grants would be paid. This would ensure parental participation and commitment.

Attendance of any child in an Early Childhood program would be optional.

Under the "using and improving human resources" dimension, the paper identified three main factors which would determine the extension of services to young children: potential education gain, financial priorities and degree and nature of the need. For needs identification purposes, children would be grouped into four categories: handicapped, disadvantaged, custodial and normal. These groupings, it may be noted, also corresponded to the priorities for program implementation advocated in the paper.

Two phases of implementation were foreseen, one for the 1973-74 school year, the next for the 1974-75 school year.

The paper concluded with a number of questions pertaining to specifics of "using and improving human resources" and "instructional programs and support services".

During the consideration of the paper at the Advisory Committee Meeting, much discussion took place on the conflict perceived between the setting of centralized goals and the provision of local needs. It was felt that leadership from both the provincial and local levels was necessary, with the responsibility remaining at the local level. It was generally agreed that guidelines for needs assessment should be drafted but questions were raised about who would decide on the validity of the locally identified needs.

The committee was warned that, by adhering to the policy of making ECS the joint responsibility of several departments, action might be delayed until 1978. It was mentioned however that the Department of Education could move forward on its own merely by having a commitment to early childhood services.

On the matter of structures, the committee preferred the Institutional model, incorporating ECS as a separate branch of the Department of Education as being the most satisfactory guide for the structure of the directorate. It was understood however, that the coordination component would be stressed in further developing the model.

Concerning structures at the local level, no clear preference emerged regarding the body to coordinate early childhood services. Some members leaned toward the involvement of school boards to avoid the creation of another new body, other members preferred a special early childhood board,while still others indicated that a local coordinator could serve this need.

With regard to program sponsorship, one member pointed out that private pre-schools tended to be of a lower standard than those operated by the publicly-supported school systems.

In the discussion of categories of need, the committee was warned against the removal of all labels, because this would weaken the claim that specialized programs or services were necessary for certain children.

On January 11, 1973, the Edmonton Chapter of the Canadian College of Teachers held a panel discussion on Alternatives in Early Education.Vice-President of the organization at that time was Dr. M. Horowitz and Mrs. Joyce Krysowaty was the Secretary-Treasurer. Panelists for the discussion were: Mrs. Bernice Youck, President of the PCKA; Mr. Melvin Finlay, Assistant Director, Preventive Social Services; and Mr. J. Collins Meek, Coordinator, Alberta Innovative Projects, Department of Education. Moderating the discussion was Dr. Muriel Affleck, Professor, Department of Elementary Education, University of Alberta. Also present was Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth, Deputy Minister of Education.[280]

Also in January 1973, the Parent Co-operative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton held a meeting at which it was learned that due to lack of funds three of the twenty-three Co-op Kindergartens would have to close. The Minister of Culture, Youth and Recreation, H. Schmidt was made aware of the PCKA's plight and he arranged a grant to keep the kindergartens operating for the remainder of the school year. A letter requesting assistance was also written to the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman.[281]

On February 12, Mr. Hyndman replied to Mrs. Youck's letter indicating that the potential for growth of early childhood programs generally and kindergartens in particular, appeared good. Referring to six kindergartens being planned by the PCKA for next fall, the Minister suggested that such planning should continue with a view to possible commencement of operations as scheduled. Mr. Hyndman repeated that a statement on the government's position on early childhood programs generally, was anticipated in the Legislature in March.[282]

On January 22, 1973, the Calgary Herald carried a copyrighted article by Mrs. A. Charbonneau in which she challenged the position adopted by the Minister of Education and Mr. H. Gunderson, regarding universal kindergartens. Mrs. Charbonneau, a mother of two pre-school children, charged that Mr. Gunderson had conveniently latched on to inconclusive pieces of research referred to in two sentences in the Downey paper, and had applied them much out of context.[283]

She expressed concern that the two misapplied sentences were being used to turn people against the most crucial issue in Alberta education today: the universal, but non-compulsory kindergarten. She stated that while concerned parents were now spending $7 million to send 2.2 percent of Alberta five-year-olds to kindergartens, for an estimated $10 million and by utilizing existing facilities, kindergartens could be available for all five-year-olds.[284]

During the weekend of January 19-21, the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party held its annual convention in Calgary. A resolution favouring a government-run kindergarten program was defeated. During the debate on that resolution, rural delegates said that such a program would just be a baby-sitting service for city residents. There was agreement however, that there should be some form of pre-school education for handicapped and disadvantaged children. Adoption of a resolution in no way implied that it constituted party policy; the resolutions were simply forwarded to the provincial caucus for further discussion.[285]

On January 23, 1973, ASTA President, Harald Gunderson stated~~,~~ following a meeting with the provincial cabinet a few days earlier, that the constant debate about kindergartens was nothing but a "red herring" and that it was not a big issue. He said that while the ASTA was not in favour of kindergartens, it agreed with government plans to provide preschool training for children with various learning disabilities. Universal kindergartens, Mr. Gunderson said, were not in prospect because their value remained unproven.[286]

In February, the ATA submitted a second brief on the recommendations of the"Worth Report". Concerning early childhood education, the brief reiterated its agreement with the concept as outlined in A Choice of Futures. The poor and educationally deprived, it said, were most in need of early education. The ATA also emphasized its belief that early education programs should be under the direction of qualified teachers and operated in schools.[287]

On February 23, 1973, the Calgary Public School Board approved a universally available but optional kindergarten program. The number of schools to offer kindergarten classes however, would depend on whether funds would be provided by the provincial government. The board agreed to ask the Minister of Education to provide grants to support the program. If provincial funding were not available, kindergartens would be set up according to the ability of the board to finance them and, the establishment of more community kindergartens would be encouraged.[288]

On March 1, 1973, the Calgary Herald in an editorial, stated that the Calgary Public School Board was testing the credulity of its supporters beyond all bounds, by introducing on the same day as its budget, a new and unexpected kindergarten program for which it had neither the necessary funds nor much hope of getting them. The Board put itself in the comfortable position of telling the taxpayer that Calgary should have public kindergartens but that it is up to the provincial Government to pay for them, said the Herald. If financing for a full scale program is not available, the editorial argued, it would be discriminatory and therefore not acceptable to launch a partial kindergarten scheme.[289]

The following day, the Calgary Albertan also featured an editorial about the Calgary Public School Board's endorsement of kindergartens. The board had taken the kindergarten question by the horns and wrestled it onto the provincial government's doorstep, the Albertan said: making the board look like a winner but leaving the pre-schoolers just about where they were before. The Calgary Public School Board's decision did two things, the editorial stated: it strengthened the view that some form of organized learning should be provided for five-year-olds, and it recognized the inequity of the existing situation where only those children whose parents can afford it have access to kindergartens. "A majority of citizens would probably agree with the majority of trustees that something should be done for five-year-olds," the editorial commented.[290]

On February 27, 1973, in Edmonton, the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education held its sixth meeting. Neither the Minister nor the Deputy Minister were able to attend this meeting but the Associate Deputy Minister, Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi attended part of the meeting. Mr. Hyndman had asked that either Dr. Hawkesworth or Dr. Hrabi attend to ensure that some point in the early childhood services paper would not be vehemently opposed by the Committee in view of the scheduled announcement of the plan approximately one week after the meeting.

The Minister, in a memo to Dr. Hawkesworth, Deputy Minister, had noted that some differences did exist between the government policy and the viewpoints expressed by the Advisory Committee but had added that it would be possible to make last minute amendments to the paper if the Committee took issue with a substantial part of it. Mr. Hyndman had also indicated that the help of the Advisory Committee would be needed in the future as parts of the plan would undoubtedly be criticized after its announcement.[291]

During the first part of the meeting, Mr. Stan Maertz, Associate Director of the ASTA, attended the meeting to lead discussion on the paper The Integrated Services Approach to Early Childhood Education prepared by Mrs.J. Krysowaty and submitted earlier to the Education Council of the ASTA. It was noted that the Krysowaty paper placed the coordination at the local level, where it is most effective. It was suggested that the Department of Education person in charge of the Early Childhood Services should have a copy of the Krysowaty paper for reference.

Dr. Hastings then presented the February 1973 draft of Operational Plans for Early Childhood Services. The Chairman, Mr. K. McKie stressed that the document was highly confidential and that all copies were to be returned to him at the end of the meeting.

There was discussion of the basic principle dealing with "centralization" and "integration". It was pointed out that there are provincially determined needs as well as locally determined needs.

The new model depicting the provincial structure was examined and said to be somewhat intermediate between the coordinated and institutional approach.

Extensive discussion took place concerning membership in the proposed Early Childhood Services Co-ordinating Council and a motion regarding its composition was carried, specifying in particular, that the Associate Deputy Minister of Education would act as Chairman of the Council.

There was also discussion on the importance of parental involvement and on the role of school boards in early childhood services. Finally, the problem of "labelling" children was raised and discussed.[292]

Following the meeting, Dr. Church noted, in reference to the concerns raised by the Minister of Education in his February 19 memorandum to Dr. Hawkesworth, that there had been no opposition to the proposed government policy, nor to the plans to put it into operation.[293]

Between the Minister's Advisory Committee meeting on February 27 and March 10, at least four meetings were held between Dr. Hastings and the Deputy Minister at which revisions were made to the second official draft. Two of these meetings also involved the Minister of Education, Mr. Hyndman.[294]

During the course of developing Operational Plans , numerous meetings had been held with people in different departments of government. On a formal basis, the Deputy Ministers of Culture, Youth and Recreation; Advanced Education; Health and Social Development; and Education, met twice, once in December 1972, and again at the end of January 1973.

A variety of interested individuals who were connected with university training programs, the operation of health units and social service programs and those who had operated day-care and kindergartens were also contacted.[295]

In particular (among others) during the writing of Operational Plans, Dr. Hastings consulted with and obtained reactions to drafts of the paper from: Mel Finlay, Assistant Director of Preventive Social Services, Department of Health and Social Development; Burn Evans, Assistant Director, Youth Development, Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation; Mrs. Sheila Campbell, Director of Day-Care for the City of Edmonton; and Mrs. Pat Shanahan, Consultant in Primary Education, Department of Education.

Discussion of the draft paper as it was being developed also took place between Dr. Hastings and Dr. E. Torgunrud, Director of the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education.[296]

On March 2, 1973, Provincial Treasurer Gordon Miniely, in his Budget Address to the Legislature, announced the provision of $4.9 million for the launching of a phased, comprehensive early childhood program. The program would be unique, voluntary and available to rural areas, Mr. Miniely said, and services for disadvantaged and handicapped children would be an important part of the program.[297]

On March 5, 1973, the Alberta Association of Social Workers submitted a brief to the government in response to A Choice of Futures.

A Choice of Futures

The AASW brief indicated its support for the Worth recommendation calling for universal opportunities for all five-year-olds with special provisions for selected experience for disadvantaged and/or handicapped three and four year olds. It expressed concern however, that the innovative programs of community agencies and special interest groups would be incorporated into the basic schooling system. The brief explained that such inclusions are often made for the wrong reasons, such as to keep anyone but licensed educators from selling the commodity called "education".

Concerning the suggestion that pre-school programs might also be operated by private agencies, the AASW stated that social workers were familiar with the private "day-care" sector and the "request for proposal" concept and were therefore suspicious of applying the free enterprise/capitalism ethos to the field of human care and social welfare services. "The general rule of thumb", the brief suggested, "seems to be that as quality service is delivered to children, the economic benefits to operators... decreases and vice-versa."[298]

On March 12, 1973 in a news release, Lou Hyndman announced the outlines of a comprehensive Early Childhood

Services program to commence in September of that year.

Going beyond what is normally interpreted as education, the program would immediately include a broad range of needs, encompassing the enrichment of family surroundings, the early detection of health, mental and educational handicaps and both preventative and remedial services for children and families in special situations, the news release said.

While the full scope of the program would include the starting years up to age eight, the beginning priority would be with children under five years and a half who need a "fair start" to eventually move toward a "full start" for all children, Mr. Hyndman said.

Sponsorship by school boards and private cooperative non-profit agencies would be provided for, the Minister explained, and all aspects of the program would be optional. Among the points taken from Operational Plans and highlighted by the news release in describing the new Early Childhood Services program were the following:

- An Early Childhood Services Branch of the Department of Education had been established under the direction of Dr. H.I. Hastings.
- While major responsibility will rest with the Department of Education, Mr. Hyndman indicated that the Early Childhood Services plan is viewed as a joint responsibility of provincial departments of Culture, Youth and Recreation.
- Each local ECS unit must have at least one teacher with acceptable early childhood

qualifications. Minimum requirement is a teaching certificate with three years of university training and a major in early childhood education, but teachers in the process of obtaining these qualifications will be recognized during the start-up years.

- Provincial standards for ECS will be established, but local discretion and initiative will be both recognized and encouraged.

- Presently operating standards for ECS will be established but local discretion and initiative will be both recognized and encouraged.

- Operators of ECS who wish to be approved or licensed will be required to submit their proposals to the ECS Program Review Committee. In the case of a private operator, the recommendation of a specially constituted local Advisory Committee must accompany the proposal.

Chapter V

CONTEXT and INTERPRETATION

In this chapter, some elements of the social, political and demographic context judged to be pertinent to the events related in chapter IV, are brought to light. Furthermore, taking into account this contextual information, certain important events are interpreted.

With reference to the research problems guiding the study, this chapter examines the "outside situational factors" referred to in sub-problem 3.4, which appear to have had some bearing on the course of the deliberations.

Although the contextual data examined do not in some cases correspond exactly to the six chronological partitions identified in the previous chapter, these partitions do nevertheless serve as useful reference points for the discussion to follow.

1. Early Beginnings

To some extent, the early beginnings of early childhood education in Alberta, resemble the developments in this field occurring in Canada, and more particularly in the Western Provinces.[299]

In the whole of Canada the development was uneven. Kindergartens were opened in large urban centres such as Toronto and Montreal in the early years of the century as a result of public demand brought about by the pressures of industrialization and the teachings of Maria Montessori.[300]

In the Western Provinces, volunteer and privately-operated kindergartens emerged in a few centres in the early 1900's.

Around the time of the end of World War II (mid-1940's), factors such as urbanization and the employment of a large number of women in industry and commerce, increased the demand for early childhood programs to a point where public authorities (at least at the local level for the Prairie Provinces) began to accept some responsibility in that domain.[301]

2. Publicly-Funded Kindergartens in Calgary

Publicly-supported kindergartens first came on the scene in Western Canada when the Calgary Public School Board took over the "Tom Thumb" kindergarten in 1941. Shortly thereafter in Manitoba, the Winnipeg School Division #1 introduced some kindergarten classes.[302]

For some thirteen years, the Calgary Public School Board (CPSB) operated kindergartens in areas where classroom space was available. Funds were being obtained through provincial grants and applied to the kindergarten sector despite the fact that officially no provincial "Kindergarten Grants" existed.

When the classrooms being utilized for kindergartens became needed to accommodate students in the Grade I to XII program, the CPSB had to cancel the kindergarten classes.

The resulting discontent from parents of the kindergarten children involved, brought to the forefront the question of the fairness of funding kindergarten in some areas and not in others. The Department of Education, it appears, was placed in a position of having to explain the rationale for the allocation of provincial grants used to fund kindergartens in the CPSB. Since there was at that time no legal basis for provincial funding of kindergartens, the Department of Education took action to ensure that no provincial funds were being applied to this end.

As a consequence, the Calgary Public School Board withdrew from the operation of kindergartens and lent its backing to the community kindergarten movement.

By the time the Calgary Public School Board was withdrawing from the operation of kindergartens, in 1954, the Winnipeg School Division #1 was operating kindergarten classes in all of its elementary schools.[303]

3. Community Kindergarten Movement in Calgary

The Community Kindergarten Movement developed and expanded largely under the aegis of local Home and School Associations. At the time of the "Cameron Commission Report" in 1959, close to half of the total eligible children in Calgary were being served through the Community Kindergartens.

The "Cameron Commission Report" came out rather weakly in favour of kindergartens, and its recommendation on the issue was apparently not viewed by Government as a high priority.

The Minister of Education of that time, A.O. Aalborg, was not a proponent of public funding for kindergartens.[304] During the 1950's and 1960's in the Prairie Provinces, enrolment in preprimary private schools underwent accelerated growth until the incursion of government agencies into the area of early childhood education.[305]

In the early 1960's British Columbia made provincial funds available for kindergartens. This funding resulted in a substantial increase in enrollments in public kindergartens whereas to that point, kindergartens had been largely privately operated.[306]

In Alberta, during the space of two years (from 1960 to 1962), jurisdiction for private kindergartens, (including the Community Kindergartens) was transferred from the municipal (city) government to the Provincial Welfare Department and then to the Department of Education.

It was at that time (1962), when kindergartens received official status under the Department of Education, that interest in that sector quickened within the Department. The Department of Education now had a regular formal role to play: regulations were drafted, two Superintendents-at-large were assigned to oversee their application, and kindergartens began to be identified as a special service.[307]

The following year, the Department of Education Kindergarten Manual was made available.

The government was still very firm against any support for kindergartens, and the Department of Education exercised vigilance regarding the possible misuse of Foundation Program Funds for kindergartens.[308]

While the assuming of responsibility for kindergartens by the Department of Education was welcomed by the Calgary Public School Board, and was described as being long overdue, the transfer of jurisdiction did little to encourage the CPS Board to take over of the Calgary community kindergartens.

Because of the fact that there were, at that time, more children in the kindergarten age cohort than any other, the takeover of community kindergartens was said to be unaffordable without provincial funding. Furthermore, the community kindergarten arrangement with the CPSB, which was then supplying them with a full-time supervisor, was described by the Board Chairman as "workable (and) thought by some to be close to ideal".[309]

The Department of Education, in attempting to enforce the departmental regulations for kindergartens, faced what appeared to be a dilemma. It was anticipated, for example, that enforcing the standards for physical facilities for licensed kindergartens would result in having to close down the great majority of them.[310] Furthermore, to exert pressure on the establishments to raise their standards, was in a sense inviting them to create pressure on the government to be included within the Building Support Program and the School Foundation Program. Knowing that the government was not disposed to do this, Department of Education Officials had to reconcile within their role as civil servants, their responsibility to enforce regulation, and at the same time not to cause undue pressure to be created in a direction which they knew to be inconsistent with government policy.[311]

4. The Early Childhood Movement

In the United States in 1964, a study by Bloom showed that the most rapid period of development is the first five years in life, and that about 17 percent of growth in educational achievement takes place between the ages of four and six. In relation to deprived young children he pointed out that the effects of environment are likely to be greatest during the early and more rapid period of intellectual development.[312]

That same year the United States Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act, one aspect of which was a concentrated effort to reduce poverty. Out of this initiative was created Project Head Start to help socio-economically disadvantaged pre-school children to acquire some of the knowledge, habits and attitudes which would presumably facilitate their successful adjustment to the elementary school situation.[313] The project stimulated great interest in social welfare and educational circles in both the United States and Canada.

Under the scheme parents were very much involved. Two requirements were legislated as mandatory for all Head Start programs:

1. a comprehensive program of health, nutrition, education, social and community services; and
2. mandatory parent involvement at all levels of program development and participation. [314]

In Canada, a 1965 Canadian Education Association survey showed that only Alberta and Prince Edward Island did not provide provincial support for school system-operated pre-Grade I programs for five-year-olds. Alberta was the only province having legal provisions for kindergartens but not providing provincial funding.[315]

On the Alberta scene in 1964, at the Alberta School Trustees' Association convention, Dr. W.H. Worth delivered an address based on Bloom's "critical years" theme. At least partly as an outgrowth of this address, enough interest was generated among the convention delegates that the ASTA decided to commission a study of the early childhood education situation in Alberta.

In 1966, Before Six: A Report on the Alberta Early Childhood Education Study, was presented to the ASTA convention by Dr. Worth. In it (in addition to what was mentioned in chapter IV) Worth highlighted some environmental conditions which were felt to influence the growth and development of young children in the province.

Among the environmental conditions stated by Worth were the following:

- A relatively high standard of education existed in Alberta generally but marked inequalities were noted for some areas.
- The drop out rate in the lower socio-economic areas was high.
- While income levels for Albertans was fairly high, Alberta was described as being a province of income extremes.

- Cultural deprivation associated with poverty existed in large urban centres and in many rural areas.
- A considerable number of children entering school (some 25,000 in 1961) spoke a language other than the language of instruction used in Alberta schools.
- Achievement orientation and levels of aspiration in Alberta were highly related to social class.
- The working mother phenomenon was of growing importance,and insufficent licensed day-care facilities were available for the children involved.

Worth interpreted the above as showing that environments unfavorable to the fullest development of children existed in Alberta and concluded that there was a need for some form of publicly-supported preprimary education in the province.[316]

Worth's study, Before Six appeared to be in large part responsible for the adoption, at the 1966 ASTA convention, of a resolution calling for provincial government support for kindergartens.

The year 1966 was an important one in the early childhood education movement in Alberta for at least two other reasons. Firstly, the Alberta Teachers' Association established its Early Childhood Education Council: it was to play a significant role in charting the direction for, and helping to define early childhood education in Alberta. Secondly, the government passed the Preventive Social Services Act which led to the Department of Social Development's involvement in many Parent-Child Development Programs for children in disadvantaged areas. The convergence of this type of program in the Slave Lake area with the Department of Education's Innovative Project in 1971 was to be an important forerunner to ECS, containing some of the essential ingredients of the program.

The Preventive Social Services Act also enabled the Calgary Public School Board in 1967 to receive funding for some experimental "preventative pre-school classes". This funding, while short-lived, contributed to getting the CPSB back into the preprimary field and also indirectly played a part in the Calgary Separate School Board's initial involvement in that field, since it did so in anticipation of funding under the Preventive Social Services Act.

The pre-school situation in Edmonton at that time was described by a parent and former teacher, as a "hodge podge" of private kindergartens and playschools "...a mess and a disgrace".[317] Worth termed it confused.[318]

The Edmonton Separate School Board was by this time involved by providing classroom space for kindergartens in schools where extra space was available, and also by providing consultative assistance. It was not until 1968 that the Edmonton Public School Board got involved by setting up experimental readiness centres in two schools.

In Calgary, the Community Kindergartens were going strong.

At about that time, Dr. B.T. Keeler, then President of the ATA, in an address to the 1967 ASTA convention, pointed out that:

- the drop in birth rates would lead to a decline in elementary enrolments beginning in the late 1960's; and
- the teacher shortage, while still a problem in rural areas, had been eased, but a surplus of teachers was being predicted beginning in the early 1970's. 319

On the political side, Randolf McKinnon, Minister of Education from 1964 to 1967, commented that during his term of office there appeared to be conflicting evidence about the value of kindergarten and that he himself wasn't convinced of its merits.

Furthermore, introducing kindergartens, he said, would have cost an extra $15 million, and with the size of the educational budgets during those years he didn't feel he had a chance of convincing the Cabinet and Treasury Board to make the required funds available.[320]

A further explanation offered was that the Social Credit Government and particularly the Cabinet was largely rural in its orientation, and like the rural trustees, viewed kindergartens as being mainly an urban want.[321]

Following the provincial elections, held in the spring of 1967 the Social Credit party remained in power, but responsibility for the Education portfolio went from Randolf McKinnon to Raymond Reierson. Mr. Reierson also held the portfolio of Minister of Telephones in addition to the Education post.[322] He was viewed by some as occupying the Education portfolio in a caretaker capacity and not really having the time to become thoroughly informed in such areas as kindergartens.

Basically the position held by the Government under the term of office of Mr. Reierson as Minister of Education can be summarized as follows:

- the Government was not convinced of the usefulness of kindergartens: it was interpreted by some members as mainly a "babysitting service";
- parents who wanted kindergartens for their children could organize and fund them locally, either through their school board or through an independent organization;
- available funds for education were needed for maintaining the established system and for financing the considerable expansion taking place in the university sector. 323

In 1967 the Alberta Teachers' Association adopted resolutions calling for provincial funding of kindergartens, and the following year, the Alberta Chamber of Commerce added its voice in support of this. The Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations was also continuing to ask for government support of kindergartens.

The pro-kindergarten lobby appeared to be in full swing.

At about that time, Lou Hyndman, recently elected as a Progressive Conservative MLA on the opposition side of the Legislature, joined the pro-kindergarten forces, while Calgary Public School Trustee Harald Gunderson began his fight against kindergartens.

At the 1967 ASTA convention Mr. Gunderson succeeded in rallying the rural trustees to defeat a pro-kindergarten resolution, thereby effectively neutralizing the stance in favour of kindergartens, adopted by the ASTA the year before.

5. Studies and Pilot Projects

In 1969 shortly after assuming the Education portfolio, Robert Clark had some cost studies prepared by the Department of Education staff and also requested Dr. Church to draft a position paper on early childhood education. Mr. Clark also took action to carry out a commitment made by Premier Harry Stromm, to have a study done on public education by initiating the Commission on Educational Planning, headed by Dr. Worth.

In late 1969 the Minister's Office conceived of a plan to run two pre-school pilot projects in the inner core of each of Edmonton and Calgary. The Department of Education was not very enthusiastic about the program and in particular, the Request for Proposal approach to be used; preferring instead, to see the projects operated entirely through school boards. As a result, the Minister's Executive Assistant, John Barr was asked to assume a direct role in realizing the program.[324]

Watts *et al*.[325] suggest two basic reasons for the initiation of the pilot projects:

> 1. It was deemed necessary at the time (January, 1970) for the government to do something in the area of early childhood education so that this interest of the government might become visible. At least, the Minister of Education

appeared supportive of a government thrust in this area, even though the government might not have been in a position to make any large scale financial commitment to province-wide early childhood education programs.

2. The government was keenly interested in piloting the Request for Proposal (RFP) approach in education. The apparent interest of the Minister of Education in developing means by which a variety of interested groups might contribute to innovation and change in education led to the serious consideration of the RFP approach in early childhood education. The Minister's Office wished to obtain a fresh look at alternatives in this area by seeking proposals from within and outside the established school systems.

In February, 1970 Education Minister Robert Clark announced major changes in the School Foundation Program formula for the funding of public education in the province.[326]

The most notable change was the imposition of marked limitations upon the spending powers of School Boards, a ceiling was imposed on the maximum allowable supplementary requisition. School boards wishing to exceed that maximum would be required to hold a plebiscite.

During the 1961-1969 period under the former financing formula, supplementary requisitions imposed by boards on the local ratepayers had increased at an accelerating rate, averaging 30 percent per year.

The increasing use of large supplementary requisitions especially by the large school districts and strongest fiscal districts had created considerable inequalities of standards by encouraging strong districts to provide educational services beyond the minimum (such as kindergartens).

During the 1961 to 1969 period, the four largest school districts in the province (those in Edmonton and Calgary) expanded their enrolment from about 38 percent of total provincial enrollment in 1961 to nearly 50 percent by 1969.

The marked trend toward urbanization in the Alberta population was further evidenced by the increase of 65 percent of enrolments in city school districts as compared to a 10 percent increase in the rest of Alberta during that time.[327]

In defending the government's imposed restraints on education spending, the Minister pointed out that the cost per capita for education support in Alberta was the highest in Canada.

Furthermore, Mr. Clark indicated that the cost of operating the Grade I to XII school system had doubled in five years.[328] The increased costs, Hansen explains, was due in large measure to expansion and improvements at the secondary level.

In the spring of that same year, Robert Clark established the Innovative Projects Fund. This program, coordinated by Dr.H.I.Hastings,made it possible to fund some early childhood projects, notably the Lesser Slave Lake project.

There was some fairly strong opposition within Cabinet at that time to any funding for preprimary education. Interestingly, Mr. Clark was arguing for more money in order to reduce the education portion of the property tax, while an education spending restraint program had just been introduced.[329]

The former Education Minister, A. Aalborg, was Provincial Treasurer at that time and was said to be "acting as the rural conscience" in speaking against kindergartens in Cabinet. He was very firm regarding any expenditure in that direction.[330]

During Mr. Clark's term of office, two government departments other than the Department of Education were active in the pre-school domain. The Department of Health and Social Development was operating some fifty pre-school programs for underpriviledged children throughout the province and the Department of Youth through the Alberta Service Corps, operated summer "Head Start" programs for Metis and Indian children, in several centres.

In response to briefs from both the ATA and the ASTA calling for provincial financial support for preprimary education programs, Mr. Clark summed up the government's position by stating that no decision could be made before the Commission on Educational Planning study was completed and until the evaluation of the inner city pre-school pilot projects had been carried out. He did however concede that a television series along the lines of "Sesame Street" but adapted to the Alberta situation, could be developed. The ATA, at that time, was citing as an additional reason for introducing a province-wide pre-school program, the need to provide jobs for teachers in a situation where an oversupply of teachers existed. The ASTA, despite the position adopted in its brief was very deeply divided on the issue.

The reason given by the Minister (having to wait for the outcome of studies before a decision could be made on a province-wide pre-school program) was interpreted by some to be a political tactic, in view of the fact that the results of those studies would not be available until after the elections.[331] The kindergarten question however, never did become a major election issue.[332]

The Minister's decision shortly before the election, to reinstate the Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education after having disbanded it about a month before, was also suspected of having political overtones. Mr. Clark wanted at that point to be viewed as being supportive of developments in the early childhood area rather than risking the loss of votes by appearing to be against it.[333]

Major preoccupations during Robert Clark's term of office as Minister of Education were:

- changes in the School Foundation Program formula;
- establishment of Colleges;
- rewriting the School Act and its implementation (for example: locally appointed Superintendents);
- the Commission on Educational Planning.

Because of the rapid expansion of the existing school system, most of the efforts were concentrated on operating and maintaining the system rather than adding new units to it (except for the Colleges).[334]

The major preoccupations of the two principal interest groups in education at that time, the ATA and the ASTA, were (from the Minister's perspective) other than lobbying for preschool programs: the ASTA was preoccupied with the New School Act and school finance, while the ATA was at that time seeking improvements in the pension plan for teachers.[335]

6. Towards ECS

Mr. Lou Hyndman came into office as Minister of Education carrying with him a formal political platform commitment to involve five-year-olds in the educational process, and the widespread public expectation that the new government would take action to this end.

In January 1972, Dr. Downey, Director of the Alberta Human Resources Research Council published Alberta 1971: Toward a Social Audit, a baseline report on the quality of life in Alberta.

The report attempted to establish a bench mark of social conditions in Alberta for the year of the changing of the government.

Downey pointed out that the most startling event which took place in 1971 was an abrupt change in the political environment. In the provincial elections of August 30th the Progressive Conservatives had defeated the thirty-six-year-old Social Credit Government. According to Downey,

Albertans had opted for:

- urban power
- secularization in politics, and
- closer affiliation between Alberta and the industrial centres of Canada.

Regarding the family, the report showed that the divorce rate and the number of illegitimate births were 50 percent higher than the overall Canadian rate.

Regarding education, Downey indicated that it was one of the province's largest enterprises, directly involving one out of every three Albertans as a teacher, student, administrator or service person.

The rate of participation in education he pointed out, was largely fashioned by the compulsory attendance law and by patterns of public support.

The system's weakest point, the report stated, was at the early childhood level, with only about 2.2 percent of Alberta's five-year-olds attending compared to a 60 percent national average. Until admission to elementary school was lowered to five-and-a-half-years-of-age, there were virtually no formal educational opportunities available to youngsters under six, Downey commented.

Mr. Hyndman's reaction to the report was, basically, that developing some form of early childhood program was a priority consideration with the government, and it was mainly now a matter of deciding on the best way of doing it.

In early May 1972, Lou Hyndman announced a "freeze" on new school construction as a result of a government study indicating that there were some 800 vacant classrooms in the province as well as 600 portable classroom units not receiving full use. Dropping birth rates and the decreasing number of students entering Grade I were cited as reasons for the surplus of classrooms.[336]

In June the Report of the Commission on Educational Planning("Worth Report")was released. It underlined that the Commission had found overwhelming support for a province-wide publicly-funded early childhood program. Among its "top ten" recommendations the"Worth Report"called for selective experience and universal opportunity in early childhood.

From a purely political viewpoint, the above recommendation was a convenient and timely one for Worth to make because the writing was so clearly on the wall. At the same time it was also very convenient for the government to have the Worth recommendation to show that action in this direction was a defensible course to follow.

Quick action on the recommendation furthermore provided the politicians with an opportunity to demonstrate how responsive they were to identify needs.

In early October, at about the time that Dr.Hastings was appointed Director of ECS, Dr. Downey was asked to prepare a policy paper on early childhood education for the government. This assignment was part of an agreement that the government had with Dr. Downey to complete certain projects which were underway when AHRRC was discontinued. The evaluation of the Calgary and Edmonton pre-school pilot projects submitted by AHRRC in August, did not include a policy position as had been intended originally, and it was essentially this part of the evaluation study that Downey undertook.[337] Other reasons for the Downey policy paper appear to be:

- the government wanted a politically acceptable document which would pull together the various ideas being advocated while at the same time incorporating the features which the Minister wished to see in the program;
- there was a need for an independent researcher to summarize recent, pertinent knowledge, in order to provide a theoretical basis for the program, bearing the seal of academic legitimacy.

The time allocated for Downey's Opportunity for Infants was extremely brief. In order to validate the accuracy of the contents, a Panel of Reactors was formed to review the paper. The report was not a consensus of the views expressed by the reactors and Downey got opinions from people outside the panel regarding certain questions raised.[338]

In his paper Downey interpreted "the public's" position to include the following beliefs:

1. Government has a responsibility to move into Early Childhood Education (financially and with mechanisms for leadership and coordination.)
2. Existing programs and institutions of all kinds should be integrated into an overall program.
3. As a minimum, universal provincially funded kindergartens should be established immediately for all five-year-olds.

4. Special provision should be made for the handicapped and disadvantaged.

Concerning the social context, Downey forecasted a society having more and more working mothers, a declining role for the family, an increase in mental illness and alienation and technological and social change. In the light of this he argued that providing children with an early start at learning to cope with this seemed more appropriate than ever.[339]

Commenting on the availability of information on the existing state of affairs pertaining to opportunities for young children, Downey stated that it was extremely inadequate.[340]

Although the Downey policy paper was described by some as an oversimplification of research related to early childhood development, it was also interpreted as being generally supportive of directions which had already been decided upon by government. According to this latter view it had accomplished what it was expected to do.

At the November 24 and 25th meeting of the Minister's Advisory Committee the Committee members insisted on meeting with the Minister. There had not been any feedback to them regarding their recommendations and the statements being carried in the press left them puzzled as to what was going on.

When the Minister came to the meeting he quickly dismissed the uncertainty surrounding government intentions and the role of the Committee.While stating that the government had not reached a policy on early childhood,he did indicate that a program should be prepared in time for a February or March 1973 announcement.

The climate was clearly established when the Minister rolled up his sleeves and told the Committee:"Let's get down to work".[341]

It is interesting to note that the Committee, not knowing of Dr. Hasting's appointment as Director of Early Childhood Services since October 1st, voted a motion asking that an individual be appointed at a senior level within the Department of Education to coordinate early childhood activities and to give leadership to that field. The Committee also appointed Dr. Hastings to be responsible for drafting plans for the early childhood program, being unaware that Dr. Hastings had already begun work on this and had even submitted a preliminary framework for the program, to the Deputy Minister. Endorsement of the Downey strategies for government action in developing the plan, was also secured.

Mr. Hyndman,on November 28th,took advantage of a Progressive Conservative Association meeting to clarify that while the government did not place top priority on universal kindergartens,it was however considering a program involving three government departments which would include parental involvement as an important component and which would be flexible enough to allow the participation of a number of groups or agencies.

In reply to a question from a member of the Parent Co-op Kindergarten Association at that meeting, Mr. Hyndman indicated nevertheless that the government was "sympathetic to the idea of increased and better early childhood opportunities that would include some kindergarten programs."[342]

This move by the Minister was consistent with the strategy recommended by Downey and supported by the Minister's Advisory Committee.

Whereas Downey's Opportunities for Infants might be said to have provided a rationale for government intervention in the early childhood field in Alberta, the paper prepared by Mr.C.D.Ledgerwood provided a rationale for the particular form of intervention that the government favoured. The principles stated by Ledgerwood were used almost unchanged in Operational Plans.

Upon completion of an official first draft of Operational Plans it was presented to the Minister's Advisory Committee for discussion. This exercise with the Minister and Deputy Minister present, was viewed by members in a very positive manner.

Illustrative of the attitude permeating the discussions were questions like:

- how can we refine it? and
- what response is likely to be evoked in the province regarding particular topics? [343]

It was in this role that the Committee appeared to be most useful to the government and satisfying to the members.

Briefly after the Minister's Advisory Committee Meeting at which the first official draft of Operational Plans had been discussed, Mr. Gunderson, emerging from a meeting with the Cabinet, called the kindergarten debate a "red herring" and said it was not a big issue. He apparently had been reassured that the government early childhood plans would not institute universal kindergartens and that priority would be accorded to the children with various learning disabilities.

It was only a few days later that the Minister announced a new educational finance plan for the province, shifting the formula from group grants to per pupil grants and easing the plebiscite requirements for boards exceeding the allowable limits for supplementary requisitions.

From that point, to the announcement of ECS, there was no opposition voiced by Mr. Gunderson regarding the early childhood program.

Perhaps surprisingly, there was a striking absence of explicit reference to Alberta pilot or "innovative" projects pertaining to early childhood programs in the Downey position paper, the Recommendations of the Minister's Advisory Committee, the "Worth Report" or in the "Foreword" of Operational Plans.

There is no doubt however that these were well known to high level officials of the Department of Education and to Dr. Hastings in particular.

The High Prairie School Division #48 "Innovative

Project" had demonstrated the feasibility of an interdepartment cooperative approach to early childhood programs.

The Inglewood Community Pilot Project in Calgary had provided support for the idea of a privately-operated program particularly designed in response to local conditions, and publicly-funded through the Request for Proposal procedure.

The Community Kindergartens in Calgary and the Parent Cooperative Kindergartens in Edmonton had demonstrated quite convincingly that parents could play a major role,not only in organizing,but also in operating pre-school programs.

It was only at the final meeting of the Minister's Advisory Committee,at which time it appeared that the Minister was prepared to go with Operational Plans as it stood, that any reference was made to pilot projects on early childhood education which had been carried out in the province. This reference was contained in the paper prepared by Mrs. J. Krysowaty for the ASTA and was presented to the Minister's Advisory Committee by the Associate Executive Director of the ASTA Stan Maertz. The Krysowaty paper,favouring an "Integrated Approach",was essentially supportive of the direction adopted in Operational Plans. The timing of the presentation was such that it provided important backing for the government plan at a time when the Minister did not wish to see it challenged.

The years 1972 and 1973 saw developments in early childhood programs in all of the Western Provinces. While practically no reference is made to the developments in the neighbouring provinces,it appears likely that there was at least some awareness of what was being done.

In Manitoba, although provincial support had been available for locally initiated programs, it was in 1968 that a provincial kindergarten program was organizationally conceived, and it was in 1972 that a start was made on its implementation.[344]

In early 1972 however,a new direction was charted for the Manitoba program when plans were announced for the establishment of a provincial "Office of Early Childhood Development" to provide coordination of the development of early childhood programs and services.

At the time therefore, that the Alberta Government was beginning to explore the idea of interdepartmental co-operation for early childhood services, the Manitoba Department of Education and the Department of Health and Social Development had adopted a policy advocating an interdepartmental and interdisciplinary approach to early childhood services in that province, and were jointly sponsoring pilot projects to test various early childhood education models.[345]

In Saskatchewan in mid-1972, the Minister's Committee on Kindergarten Education recommended that "publicly supported kindergartens be established". Shortly thereafter a number of provincially-funded pilot projects were launched and in 1974 the School Act was amended to allow for "the introduction of kindergartens, supported by provincial grants".[346]

In British Columbia in the spring of 1973, the government of that province indicated its intention to make kindergartens available in all school districts as soon as possible.[347]

Throughout Canada, from 1966-1967 to 1973-1974 there was close to a threefold increase in the number of five-year-old children attending some form of preprimary program. The percentage of children enrolled grew from just over 30 percent to approximately 90 percent.[348]

Summary

In this chapter some elements of the social, political, and demographic context surrounding the events leading to Early Childhood Services in Alberta have been highlighted.

Within the social context, the increase in the number of working mothers, and the rising rate of divorces, and illegitimate births, all resulting in a greater demand for some form of publicly-funded pre-school program for children, appear to be significant. Furthermore, the problem of poverty and other forms of deprivation, especially in young children from inner-city and other disadvantaged areas, underlined the need for special compensatory programs such as the "Head Start" type.

Politically, the change in government as a result of the 1971 election is most important. After thirty-six years in office, the Social Credits with their predominantly rural power base were replaced by the younger, more urban-oriented

Progressive Conservatives. While the former had a tradition of opposing publicly-funded preprimary programs, the latter arrived with a promise of government involvement in that field.

From the demographic viewpoint, the rapid urbanization of the population was remarkable. Also important was the shift in the size of the kindergarten age cohort in Alberta. In the early 1960's, as part of a growth trend in that age grouping, the cohort represented the largest of children groups. A decade later because of lower birth rates, not only had the growth trend been reversed but there was a reduction in the absolute number of children in the kindergarten age category.

A consequence of these changes was noticeable in the amount of classroom space available. In the spring of 1972 a "freeze" on new school construction was put into effect because of the large number of vacant classrooms in the province, whereas in the preceding decade, classroom space had been at a premium.

Similarly over the early 1960's to early 1970's decade, the teacher supply situation in Alberta shifted from one of a teacher shortage to that of a teacher surplus (although not for early childhood education specialists).

Finally, the proportion of the population in the labor force increased,therefore the tax burden could be spread out over a greater number of contributors.

Chapter VI

ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION

In this chapter the contribution of the major participants to the policy development process which led to ECS in Alberta, are analysed.

Firstly, the issues identified as basic to the Alberta Early Childhood Services program are stated. (Research problem #2).

Secondly, the major participants who provided input regarding those issues are listed. (Research problem #1).

Thirdly, the nature of the involvement of each participant is discussed under the following headings:

- Summary of involvement (Research problem #1 and #3).
- Input according to phases of policy process (Research problem #1.1 and #2).
- Position advocated on basic issues (Research problem #2.1 and #4.1).
- Compatibility of position with that of other participants and with final outcome (Research problem #2.2 and #4.2).
- Leverage exercised (Research problem #1.2 and #2.3).

A - Basic Issues

In the policy development process leading to ECS in Alberta, five issues were judged to have been basic. They are: program or no program, governance, nature, scope and sponsorship.

1. Program or No Program

This issue is the most fundamental: if a participant did not want an early childhood program, then the remaining four issues did not arise.

2. Governance

Under this heading two main questions are answered:

2.1 Which sector (private, public or combination of these) would have jurisdiction over the early childhood program? and

2.2 Within that sector, if more than one level is involved, what body, agency or department would have the ultimate authority?

3. Nature

The nature of the program refers to the kind or type of program which was advocated. For example, a participant might favour the academically oriented, readiness sort of kindergarten, a compensatory "Head Start" type program or a broad-based integrated program, each having its particular underlying philosophy.

4. Scope

This issue pertains to the target population expected to be involved in the program. A program might for example, be universally available but optional for all five-year-olds in Alberta.

5. Sponsorship

Program sponsorship refers to the body or agency at the local level responsible for the program delivery.

B - Participants

The bodies and individuals listed below have been identified as having had some significant direct input into one or more phases of the policy development process leading to ECS in Alberta. The process as such is deemed to have begun with the coming to power of the Progressive Conservative provincial government following the August 1971 elections. Consequently activities having occurred prior to that time, while they may have been important, are viewed as antecedents to the process and the persons associated with those activities are not considered as participants. Similarly persons whose activities were aimed at promoting the development of a position within a group rather than being directed toward the government in an effort to influence it, are not viewed as participants. Furthermore, the analysis of these internal activities as such, is beyond the scope of this study.

It should be noted that some participants were members of more than one group and are listed only according to their primary affiliation.

1. Interest groups and indididuals
    - Alberta Teachers' Association - Dr. B.T. Keeler
    - Alberta School Trustees' Association - Harald Gunderson
    - Home and School Associations
    - OMEP (Canadian Committee on Early Childhood)
    - Alberta Association for Young Children
    - Parent Co-operative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton
    - Four Largest Alberta School Districts:

Calgary Public School Board
Edmonton Public School Board
Edmonton Separate School Board
Calgary Separate School Board

- University of Alberta, Faculty of Education:
  Dr. W.H. Worth
  Dr. M. Horowitz

- Press:
  Calgary Herald
  Edmonton Journal
  Calgary Albertan

- Dr. L.W. Downey

2. Government

- Cabinet

- Department of Education:
  Hon. L. Hyndman
  Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth
  Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi
  Dr. H.I. Hastings
  Dr. E.J.M. Church
  Dr. A. Torgunrud
  Mr. C.D. Ledgerwood
  Mrs. P. Shanahan

  Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education

- Department of Health and Social Development

- Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation.

C - Analysis of Involvement of Major Participants

1. Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA)

1.1 Summary of Involvement

The first important contribution by the ATA into the process which eventually led to ECS in Alberta, appears to have been its submission to the Cameron Commission in 1958.

It was only in 1966 however, with the formation of the ATA Early Childhood Education Council that a consciousness regarding early childhood education began to develop within the Association and that progress was made toward the formulation of a policy position for the ATA on the issue.

From its very inception the ECE Council provided a rallying centre for professional educators, not only from the teacher ranks, but also for those from within the Department of Education and the Universities in Alberta who were interested in early education. The ECE Council provided within the ATA, a structure for promoting the early childhood cause.

The year following the establishment of the ECE Council, the ATA,at its Annual Representative Assembly, adopted several resolutions calling on the government to take action in the early childhood field. These resolutions represented the ATA long-range policy on the matter and from that point on, to the adoption of ECS in 1973, the ATA annual briefs to the government contained mention of the need for a publicly-funded, universal, early childhood program.

In 1969, the Commission on Educational Planning was established and the ATA Executive Secretary, Dr. B.T. Keeler, was appointed to the Commission Board as well as Coordinator of the N-12 Education Task Force. The ATA was strongly represented on the Task Force, as is illustrated by the fact that in addition to Dr. Keeler, Dr. M. Horowitz,who served as President of the ECE Council during part of the Task

Force's existence, was also a member. Furthermore, the ECE Council members from across the province had input into the Task Force by means of their responses to a survey compiled by Task Force and ECE Council member, Joyce Thain.

Upon release of the N-12 Task Force Interim Proposals in early 1971, the ATA submitted a reaction to it and succeeded in having the early childhood education proposal modified to state that the early childhood education program proposed should be operated by school boards, and should be required of all children for a minimum of one year.

In September of 1971, the ECE Council's Position Paper on Early Childhood Education was endorsed by the ATA Executive Council.

This position paper proved to be important, not only because it helped to shape the view of the ATA, but also because it was used as a basis of discussion at many levels during formal and informal sessions where the Alberta early childhood education question arose.[349]

The position paper also marked a turning point regarding the conceptualization of the nature of early childhood programs. From that point on, the broad-based approach, including for example social and health components in addition to the education component, appeared to become more and more accepted among Alberta professional educators in general.

In the Spring of 1971 when the Department of Education Early Childhood Education Committee (formerly the Kindergarten Committee) was disbanded, ATA ECE Council members who had been pushing for a revision of the Kindergarten Manual, and in particular Sheila Campbell, were instrumental in having it reinstated by the Minister Robert Clark. The ATA Executive Council intervened in this regard on behalf of the ECE Council.

Following the 1971 provincial elections, the ATA not only asked the new Minister of Education Lou Hyndman for government support for early childhood education, but also underlined the need for an Advisory Committee to the Minister on early childhood education.

ATA representation on the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education which was convened for the first time under the new government in January 1972, by far outbalanced in number, representation from other interest groups. It should be noted that while members like Dr. Horowitz and Dr. King sat as representatives of the Universities, they were also members of the ATA ECE Council.

The official ATA representative, Jack Fotheringham, was also the Staff Liaison Officer between the ATA and its ECE Council. He kept the ATA Executive Secretary informed about developments, and obtained direction from him, particularly at the time of the reaction to the first draft of Operational Plans. Mr. Fotheringham, it may be noted, appears to have fulfilled an important catalyst-type function in the role assigned to him.

The ATA submitted three briefs in reaction to the recommendations of the "Worth Report", one of them coming from the ECE Council. The third brief was submitted in February 1973 when Operational Plans for ECS was being finalized. Another input was Dr. Keeler's participation on the panel of reactors for the Downey policy paper.

During the late stages when a government announcement was imminent, the ATA, conscious that it was not in a bargaining situation and that there was little chance of obtaining concessions by trading off on other points, chose not to dig in its heels on points like exclusive school board sponsorship of programs. It was interested in seeing the program go ahead at that time, and felt that further input could be made in later stages. The ATA did however, continue to make representations right to the end in the belief that the government always needs more convincing and buttressing, until it is irrevocably committed.[350]

It seems that the ATA was about one year late with a comprehensive position on ECE.[351] While some stop-gap policies were voted at the April 1973 ARA, the main body of the position came only in 1974.[352]

1.2 Input According to Phases

The ATA and its Early Childhood Education Council seem to have contributed primarily to the forecasting phase of the policy development process. At that phase, input was provided mainly by means of the ECE Council position paper and the participation by Dr. Keeler and others, in various ways, on the Commission on Educational Planning.

At the planning phase, ATA contribution was indirect through Dr. Keeler's participation on the reaction panel to Downey's Opportunity for Infants, and through ATA representation on the Minister's Advisory Committee, especially in reacting to drafts of Operational Plans.

At the decision-making phase, there is no doubt that ATA support of the program was an important consideration. Input at this phase however, would have been remote and indirect.

1.3 Position Advocated on Basic Issues

1.3.1 Program or No Program

The ATA was in favour of an early childhood program.

1.3.2 Governance

From as far back as its submission to the Cameron Commission, the ATA supported a publicly-funded province-wide preprimary program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

1.3.3 Nature of Program

With the formation of the ECE Council, and more markedly with ATA participation on the N-12 Task Force, the notion of program evolved from that of a traditional kindergarten program to a broad-based program. When the ATA ECE Position Paper was published, the broad-based view of the early childhood program was well received within the ATA.

1.3.4 Scope

Universal opportunity for all children was advocated, beginning at the earliest age at which a child may derive benefit. Until universal opportunity is attained, the ATA advocated the provision of programs for all five-year-olds and selective educational opportunities for three-and four-year-olds, with priority in both areas being accorded to disadvantaged children and children of native ancestry in particular.[353]

1.3.5 Sponsorship

The ATA wanted the early childhood programs to be the responsibility of school boards, and to be run in schools under the charge of qualified teachers.

1.4 Compatibility of ATA Position with Final Outcome

The main areas of disaccord between the final outcome and the ATA position can be found first in the scope of the program where the ATA wished to see all five-year-olds enrolled in the program (in other words a compulsory preprimary year), and secondly under the sponsorship issue, where the ATA wanted school boards exclusively to operate programs.

It appears that while the final outcome was essentially quite acceptable to the ATA, that outcome was more highly compatible with the position held by the ATA ECE Council than with that of the ATA itself.

1.5 Leverage Exercised

1.5.1 Issue Relevance

Whereas the early childhood education question appeared regularly in yearly briefs to the government, it was never identified as being the number one priority. The only time that it was referred to as the top priority, was at the ATA-sponsored Second Annual Banff Seminar on Educational Finance in 1972, and it was interpreted to have been more the personal viewpoint of the ATA Executive Secretary,Dr. Keeler, colored by his recent experience on the Worth Commission,rather than an official ATA position.[354]

During the period from the change in government to the announcement of the Alberta ECS program,it was probably among the top ten priorities of the ATA.

It was approximately in 1972 that an early childhood education program also became viewed as a means of easing the teacher surplus.

1.5.2 Resources

The ATA was generally viewed as being powerful. In 1971 the ASTA in a brief to the government described it as becoming too powerful a force in control of education. Both Robert Clark and Lou Hyndman saw the ATA and ASTA as being equally powerful,generally speaking, and balancing each other off.[355]

Both Ministers recognized however, that as a group representing the elected representatives of the people at the local level, the School Trustees Association had to be viewed in a different light than the professional group representing the teachers.

It should be noted however, that they were not in an adversary situation on the early childhood question.

In terms of budget, the two major education interest groups in Alberta showed a marked difference during the 1971 to 1973 period. The ATA budget was more than three times superior to that of the ASTA. Likewise the support staff available to the ATA was considerably larger than the support staff available to the ASTA.[356]

The ATA appeared to receive support from members of the "professional educators community" located in the Department of Education and other groups, on matters pertaining mainly to the nature of an early childhood program.

An interesting phenomenon which was in evidence mainly from 1969 to 1973 was that of "crossmembership"or the adhesion by some key people (most of them associated with the ATA in some way) to several groups taking part in the early childhood education debate. This made possible an exchange of ideas among these groups and resulted in their positions converging in such a way that their respective positions became less incompatible.

A similar "crossfertilization" of ideas took place through the studies conducted for the ASTA by persons having an ATA affiliation, (among other affiliations) such as Dr. Horowitz.

1.5.3 Efficacy

The ATA gave the impression of being generally consistent and systematic in its participation in the policy development process. For example the ATA representatives on the N-12 Task Force and the Minister's Advisory Committee, had available the resources and support of the Association. This is evidenced by the survey conducted through the ECE Council to provide an information base for Joyce Thain on the N-12 Task Force, and likewise by the continuing communication which took place between the ATA representative on the Minister's Advisory Committee Jack Fotheringham, and the Executive Secretary of the Association, Dr. Keeler.

Despite some differences of view between the ATA Executive and the ECE Council on certain issues such as sponsorship, the ATA presented a united front. The ECE Council was in large part responsible for shaping the views of the Association regarding the nature of an early childhood program and also getting the Executive interested and active on the subject.[357]

A breach in the united front occurred in late 1970 however, when the ATA President Mr. Stonehocker publicly expressed his personal view that he did not agree with the official ATA position. This brought him a hasty reprimand from the ECE Council executive.[358]

In general, it appears that the ATA displayed a fairly high degree of efficacy in its participation in the policy development process leading to ECS. A good measure of credit, however, has to be given to the Early Childhood Education Council for the leadership role that it played both within the ATA and beyond it.

2. Alberta School Trustees Association

2.1 Summary of Involvement

The Alberta School Trustees Association was responsible in large part for initiating the early childhood education debate in 1966, by sponsoring the study on early childhood education in Alberta, Before Six, carried out by Worth et al. This resulted in a resolution being adopted at the 1966 ASTA Annual Convention calling for provincial government support for kindergartens. Interestingly however, the ASTA voted a second resolution calling for equivalent funds for school boards choosing not to institute kindergartens, in effect asking the government to give boards grants for doing nothing, which cast serious doubt upon the seriousness of the intent of the first resolution.

The very slim margins by which these two resolutions were carried proved to be characteristic of ASTA ambivalence on the topic to the very end.

The creation of the ASTA Education Council in early 1970 is an important benchmark relative to the ASTA role in the early childhood education policy development process. It was the Education Council which selected themes for conventions and workshops and it is on that account that the early childhood education question kept reappearing before the trustees and was kept alive.

In announcing the theme selected for the June 1970, Trustee Workshop and Seminar to be held in Banff, ASTA President R.D. Gruenwald predicted that if it resulted in strong support for an early childhood education program, the government would have little choice but to go ahead with such a program.[359]

This workshop, featuring resource people with expertise in early childhood education, was the forum for a heated and emotional exchange on the question between the two people who may be viewed as the champions for the opposing sides throughout the entire debate, until the spring of 1973. Mr. Harald Gunderson argued against an early childhood program,while Dr. Myer Horowitz argued in favour.

As a result of the workshop, trustees in attendance were no doubt more sensitized to the question, as had been hoped by the ASTA Education Council who had organized the workshop, but it appeared to have contributed to a polarization of positions, and resulted in an even deeper split among trustees on the issue. This was apparent at the 1970 Annual Convention when a resolution favouring government support of preschool programs barely obtained a majority.

The annual briefs based on such resolutions which were forwarded to Government following the conventions, made no mention of the division in the trustee ranks on the early childhood issue when conveying a pro-kindergarten position.

In the summer of 1971, following an Education Council panel discussion on Early Childhood and the Social Agencies, Council member Mrs. Green spearheaded a move to initiate a feasibility study. The study was intended to lead to a pilot project for an early childhood program which would coordinate the various services available to young children.

AHRRC was commissioned to conduct the study and in turn obtained the services of Dr. Horowitz to prepare it. Because of the very limited time allowed, a brief paper was prepared but was not utilized as planned at the 1971 Annual Convention held in November.

Following a Special General Meeting of the ASTA in June 1972 at which the Minister of Education Lou Hyndman asked that trustees indicate to him their priorities, a survey was conducted which did not show strong support for universal kindergartens.

It was during the summer of 1972 that a paper prepared by Education Council member Dr. A. Griffiths entitled Proposed Position for the ASTA on Early Childhood Education was received as information by the Education Council. While this paper was never approved by the ASTA Executive as representing the official ASTA position it was said to be representative of the Education Council position.[360]

When the time came for the ASTA to present a reaction to the "Top Ten" recommendations of the "Worth Report" the Education Council, which had the responsibility for drafting the reaction, decided under the leadership of its chairman Mrs. Lois Campbell to take a stand essentially in support of the Worth early childhood education recommendation, despite the ambivalence of ASTA members on the subject and the strong opposition to the concept by ASTA President Harald Gunderson.

The feasibility study, which had been started by Dr. Horowitz was contracted to Mrs. Joyce Krysowaty and was to have been used to marshall trustee support for an early childhood education program at the November 1972 Annual Convention. It was not ready at that time however and therefore could not be utilized. The study, Integrated Services Approach to Early Childhood Education was accepted by the ASTA Executive on February 24-25th 1973 and was presented to the Minister's Advisory Committee at its final meeting on February 27th, 1973.

In addition to the input provided through its briefs to Government, the ASTA had representation on the N-12 Task Force and also on the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education.

Stan Maertz, Acting Executive Director of the ASTA at the time of the N-12 Task Force, was the ASTA representative on it. He was generally supportive of early childhood education.

Regarding the ASTA representation on the Minister's Advisory Committee,the member was left almost entirely to his own devices, not having to report back and not receiving any direction as to the nature of input that was expected of him.

Another significant opportunity which allowed for ASTA input into early childhood education-related concerns, was through its representative on the Innovative Projects Board,Mrs. L. Campbell, who was Chairman of the ASTA Education Council and a strong proponent of early childhood education.

2.2 Input According to Phases

The ASTA, appears to have contributed mainly to the forecasting phase of the policy development process. In this phase the input was provided indirectly through the studies which it commissioned. At the planning phase there appeared to be very little input by the ASTA.

At the "decision-making" phase, the Reaction to the Worth Report urging the government to take action in the field of early childhood education was probably an important signal for the government. Similarly the ASTA endorsement of the Krysowaty paper and its presentation to the Minister's Advisory Committee at its last meeting appears to have been a well timed show of support for the program, which may have facilitated the final decision.

2.3 Position on Basic Issues

2.3.1 Program or No Program

The official ASTA position as expressed in its briefs to the government, was in favour of an early childhood program. However, as evidenced by the discussions and voting which took place at the annual conventions pertaining to this issue, it appeared that close to half of the delegates did not want such a program.

According to Harald Gunderson the extent of support within the ASTA for preprimary programs increased as the number of women trustees grew.[361] It should be pointed out however that the proportion of urban trustees also grew over the years.[362]

It is interesting to note that the strongest supporters of early childhood education in the ASTA were all women trustees, who came from outside the province: Mrs. Green and Dr. Griffiths came from Britain and Mrs. Lois Campbell, a former teacher, came from British Columbia.

2.3.2 Governance

From 1966 to 1973 the ASTA, insofar as it supported a preprimary program, favoured a provincially funded program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

2.3.3 Nature of Program

From 1966 to the Horowitz Feasibility Study in November 1971, the ASTA was referring primarily to kindergartens and readiness-type programs. From the Horowitz paper to 1973 the broader-based concept seemed to be accepted, as evidenced by the endorsement of the "Worth Report"conceptualization and later by adopting the Krysowaty interpretation.

2.3.4 Scope

From 1966 to the Reaction to the Worth Report in October 1972, the ASTA favoured kindergartens for five-year-olds on an optional basis where School Boards wished to institute kindergarten classes.

In the Reaction to the Worth Report the ASTA adopted the position that there should be universal kindergartens for children having reached four-and-a-half years of age, but indicating that selective experience for the needy was probably more important than universal opportunity.

2.3.5 Sponsorship

The ASTA maintained throughout, that programs should be operated by school boards, but from the Reaction to the Worth Report onward, also recognized that the participation of other agencies could be included.

2.4 Compatibility of Position with Final Outcome

The final outcome as expressed in Operational Plans are generally quite compatible with the stated official ASTA position except perhaps that the ASTA would have preferred to see the plan operated exclusively by school boards, while allowing other agencies to collaborate. Whereas there were other points with which the ASTA disagreed, the ASTA position on these had not been made clear and explicit during the policy development process and were brought up only in "after the fact" reaction to the announced program.

It appeared that the ASTA was somewhat taken by surprise by the new program and was placed in the position of having to react to an existing program rather than providing input during the development stage.

It should also be mentioned however that the ASTA Education Council, to the extent that it was aware of developments taking place, did not wish to criticize parts of the program with which they were not in complete accord for fear that it might delay the entire program.[363]

2.5 Leverage

2.5.1 Issue Relevance

There was never any official indication that the early childhood education issue ranked as a top priority in the ASTA. In the ASTA Education Council however, it appears to have been high among its priorities and may have been the top ranking priority. Even for the trustees who opposed an early childhood education program the issue did have some relevance, if only from the viewpoint of the additional financial and administrative implications which would result if such a program were adopted.

2.5.2 Resources

ASTA resources were discussed above, in relation to the ATA resources. Politically the two appeared to have the potential power to balance each other off. Financially and from the viewpoint of number of support personnel attached to the ASTA headquarters, the ATA was notably superior.

The ASTA had no obvious allies in their stand on the early childhood education issue. This is understandable in view of the fact that their position appeared rather ambivalent.

It is interesting to note that the ASTA brought in outside experts from other groups, in particular the University of Alberta and the ATA, to conduct studies for it. Those studies, Before Six by Worth *et al*.; An Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education (A Feasibility Study) by Horowitz; and Integrated Services Approach to Early Childhood Education by Krysowaty appear to have played an important role in shaping the official ASTA position.

Trustee support for a provincial early childhood program was felt to be crucial for government action on the matter, regardless of ATA and Home and School support.[364]

The government was not about to introduce such a program if the majority of trustees opposed it.[365]

2.5.3 Efficacy

The efficacy of the ASTA in promoting its official view appears to have been relatively low: probably because of the lack of strong and widespread support from the trustee ranks. Throughout the debate the ASTA appeared to be split almost straight down the middle on the issue, following to some extent the rural-urban division in the Association.

Votes in early childhood education at ASTA conventions were characteristically very close,and the President of the ASTA from 1971 to 1973, Harald Gunderson, took a strong public stand contradicting the official ASTA position. In the light of this it is highly probable that official ASTA briefs on the question did not carry the same weight as they might otherwise have.

Regarding ASTA representation on the Minister's Advisory Committee, the lack of information fed to the ASTA Executive or the Education Committee regarding the deliberations and developments taking place, coupled with a lack of direction given to the ASTA representative, did not permit the ASTA to realize its potential impact in that arena.

3. Home and School Associations

3.1 Summary of Involvement

The Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations (AFHSA) is on record as calling for government support for kindergartens as far back as the early 1950's, and it kept up its request fairly consistently throughout. The main means employed by the AFHSA were briefs to the government, and representation on the Committee for Rewriting the School Act and also on the Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE. The AFHSA was apparently, the only group to push for the inclusion of kindergartens under the new School Act.

During the 1971 school board elections, the AFHSA, through its Bulletin, encouraged members to vote for candidates who were in accord with AFHSA policies and therefore kindergartens. There was no indication of how successful this was.[366]

After the publication of the "Worth Report" the AFHSA reaction was that more time was needed to study the implications of its recommendations.

On the Minister's Advisory Committee, the AFHSA representation appeared to be loosely organized, the representative did not report back to the executive in any formal way and was left entirely on her own. Furthermore, she felt out of place in the company of all the educators and participated extremely little in the discussions.[367]

Aside from the involvement of the AFHSA, there was also involvement in the policy process leading to ECS by local (sometimes not affiliated with the AFHSA) Home and School Associations.

In Calgary, the Calgary Council of Home and School Associations was mainly responsible for providing leadership and organizational support to the Calgary community kindergarten movement. They viewed the community kindergarten movement as a temporary arrangement, until schools could again assume responsibility for kindergartens. The Calgary Council of Home and School Associations expressed its desire for government grants to this end, on a number of occasions.

In Edmonton, the Edmonton Council of Home and School Associations arranged a meeting of representatives of the Department of Education (Mr. E. McDonald), of the two Edmonton School Boards and of the University Alberta in an effort to bring about concerted action regarding the establishment of kindergartens. While no immediate, direct action resulted, it may have helped to sensitize parental opinion to the issue. Representations were subsequently made to the EPSB, the cumulative effect of which probably contributed toward persuading the Board to launch its experimental classes.

In some instances, a local Home and School Association took its case beyond the School Board. For example, in the spring of 1971, following an unsuccessful bid to the EPSB for a kindergarten, the Gold Bar Home and School Association submitted a brief to the Minister of Education. The brief which was endorsed by more than twenty Home and School Associations from Edmonton and Northern Alberta, called for provincial grants to school boards for the purpose of establishing kindergartens.[368]

3.2 Input According to Phases

Home and School Associations'major contribution to the policy development process appears to fall more appropriately in the "antecedent" phase rather than within one of the phases of the policy development proper. In other words, they mainly contributed to setting the stage for the process to take place.

3.3 Position on Basic Issues

3.3.1 Program or No Program

The Home and School Associations were among the first to call for a preprimary (kindergarten) program. Interestingly when such a recommendation was made in the"Worth Report"the AFHSA appeared hesitant to support it and in fact did not publicly do so. Instead it asked for more time to study the recommendations.

3.3.2 Governance

The Home and School Associations favoured a province-wide publicly-funded program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

3.3.3 Nature of Program

Kindergartens in the "readiness" sense were being sought.

3.3.4 Scope

A universal program for all five-year-olds was advocated. The position adopted regarding optional or compulsory attendance was not very clear.

3.3.5 Sponsorship

The kindergartens would be operated in schools by teachers and under school board direction, but would allow for volunteer parental involvement.

3.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

There was no basic incompatibility, but ECS went beyond the kindergartens being advocated by the Home and School Associations.

3.5 Leverage

3.5.1 Issue Relevance

The kindergarten question appeared to be one of the top priorities of the Home and School Associations from the 1950's to 1973.

3.5.2 Resources

During the 1950's and early 1960's the Home and School Associations were quite strong.[369] From the late 1960's on it continually declined until it was being referred to as a dying or dead organization, completely ineffective, and representing no one but the people on its executive.

In Edmonton the Council of Home and School Associations atempted at one point to champion the cause of the PCKA, but the PCKA publicly disassociated itself from the Home and School Associations altogether.

3.5.3 Efficacy

As seen above, the AFHSA did not have large resources, and furthermore during the policy development process proper (under the Progressive Conservative Government) appeared to be poorly organized in its participation. As a result its efficacy seems to have been quite low.

The leverage of the Home and School

Associations was probably most noticeable through their involvement with the community kindergartens in Calgary, and through efforts in Edmonton, at convincing the Edmonton Public School Board to get involved in early childhood education.

This involvement, although less direct, may have been more important than that of the AFHSA.

4. OMEP and the Canadian Committee on Early Childhood

4.1 Summary of Involvement

The World Association for Preschool Education (OMEP), particularly through its Canadian Committee on Early Childhood (CCEC), served as a meeting ground for professionals from different disciplines having an interest in the welfare of young children. Under the leadership of Dr. M. Horowitz, it also provided a vehicle for relating the views of these professionals, to the government.

This was done first of all, by means of a brief Education for the Eighties, submitted to the Commission on Educational Planning in 1970.

During the 1971 provincial election campaign, the CCEC sponsored a public panel discussion on the topic of early childhood education. The discussion, moderated by Dr. M. Horowitz, gave spokesmen for the four major political parties, an opportunity to state their respective positions on the issue.

After the election, at a CCEC conference, the new

Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman, and his counterpart in Health and Social Development, N. Crawford, were invited to indicate their intentions regarding early childhood programs.

In the spring of 1972, under its National Chairman Dr. M. Horowitz, the CCEC submitted a brief to the Federal Government and to all Provincial Governments, calling for the establishment of Bureaus of Child Development at the national and provincial levels respectively.

4.2 Input According to Phases

Involvement in the policy development process by OMEP and CCEC appears to be primarily in the forecasting phase.

4.3 Position on Basic Issues

4.3.1 Program or No Program

OMEP and CCEC were very much in favour of an early childhood program.

4.3.2 Governance

A publicly-funded program under an autonomous government unit, integrating Health, Education, and Social Development early childhood services, and headed by a Minister, was advocated.

4.3.3 Nature of Program

An integrated, broad-based program was favoured, having health and social welfare dimensions, in addition to education.

4.3.4 Scope

The program would be universally available and would be aimed at children from as early as age three, on a voluntary basis. Special experiences would be provided for children and families from limited social and ethnic settings.

4.3.5 Sponsorship

At the regional level a board comprised of representatives from several agencies and disciplines would look after early childhood development within a community.

4.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

There is notable similarity between the key recommendations of OMEP (CCEC) and ECS, particularly concerning the integrated services approach under the collaboration of several government departments. There are,however, some differences regarding structure at the provincial level (ECS is not an independent department) and also regarding program sponsorship at the local level.

4.5 Leverage

4.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood development issue was the very reason for OMEP's and the CCEC's existence.

4.5.2 Resources

Drawing its members from various groups, some of them from disciplines other than education, OMEP and the CCEC appeared to be sympathetically viewed by those different groups. They appeared to be supportive, particularly of the broad-based, cooperative approach.

As an international and also a national organization, OMEP (CCEC) perhaps enjoyed a certain prestige. In any case, it is possible that the fact that the CCEC appealed to the Federal Government for some sort of intervention in any area related to education, which is exclusively a provincial concern, may have contributed to persuading the Provincial Government to act in the early childhood domain, for fear of relinquishing some ground by default.

4.5.3 Efficacy

Mainly because of certain key members like Dr. M. Horowitz, Sheila Campbell and Mel Finlay, this group was able to capitalize on the resources available to it to promote with a fairly high degree of efficacy, what was for its members a very important issue.

5. The Alberta Association for Young Children

5.1 Summary of Involvement

The AAYC was formed to provide a meeting ground and a voice for workers mainly in health, welfare and day-care fields who wished to have a say concerning programs for young children in Alberta. It appeared to have a broader appeal in terms of membership than OMEP and concentrated exclusively on the provincial situation.

AAYC's main involvement was by way of holding two major conferences, following which, briefs were drafted and submitted to the Government.

5.2 Input According to Phases

The input provided by the AAYC appears to have been primarily in the forecasting phase.

Through its Chairman, Sheila Campbell, who was in direct communication with Dr. Hastings during the drafting of Operational Plans, the AAYC had some input at the planning phase.

In a remote and indirect manner, the AAYC may have had some impact at the decision-making level, mainly in the sense that support of the essence of the program by such a group, no doubt facilitated the decision.

5.3 Position on Basic Issues

5.3.1 Program or No Program

The AAYC was strongly in favour of an early childhood program.

5.3.2 Governance

The AAYC advocated a province-wide, government-funded program, under the jurisdiction of a special body (preferably not the Department of Education) ensuring cooperation among government departments and across disciplines.

5.3.3 Nature of Program

A broad-based program drawing on many disciplines was supported.

5.3.4 Scope

The AAYC wanted a universally-available program for all young children.

5.3.5 Sponsorship

Diversity of sponsorship and delivery systems was advocated.

5.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The essential point of the AAYC position which urged the establishment of a broad-based, multidisciplinary cooperative program,was satisfied by ECS. Contrary to what they would have preferred however, ECS was placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

5.5 Leverage

5.5.1 Issue Relevance

Like OMEP (CCEC),the AAYC was formed to promote the welfare of young children. For the AAYC therefore, the issue of a government sponsored early childhood program for Alberta was top priority.

5.5.2 Resources

The AAYC's main resource consisted in the people participating in the conferences and lending support to AAYC briefs. Here again,the fact that most of their members belonged to other groups as well, (including the ATA ECEC) assured the AAYC of some support from within these other groups.

5.5.3 Efficacy

Due in large part to the leadership of the founding chairman Sheila Campbell, the AAYC was able to mobilize the resources available, so as to be heard by government.

6. Parent Co-operative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton (PCKA)

6.1 Summary of Involvement

This association grew out of the realization that a number of groups of parents were interested in organizing their own kindergartens to compensate for the lack of publicly-supported kindergartens in the school system. There was furthermore dissatisfaction with the private kindergartens and playschools as substitutes for public kindergartens. The PCKA believed that access to a kindergarten experience should be the right of every five-year-old in Alberta.

Soon after the formation of the PCKA in the spring of 1972, a delegation led by the PCKA president, Mrs. B. Youck, met with the Minister of Education to inquire about the possibility of obtaining provincial government funding for its kindergartens. They were told by Mr. Hyndman that the government would wait until the release of the "Worth Report" before making any decision on the early childhood education issue. The Minister also pointed out that he had but one vote in Cabinet, and that the PCKA should attempt to persuade other MLA's as well.

Consequently, after the release of the "Worth Report", the PCKA submitted a brief in reaction to it, in which it urged government action regarding kindergartens by September 1973. They also mounted what some viewed as a well organized lobby for kindergartens. Choosing to work directly with the politicians, rather than through the Department of Education or groups like the Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE, they held a meeting with their MLA's and insisted on a commitment for at least a time at which the government intentions would be made known. At that meeting, the strategy utilized to encourage the politicians to speak freely, was to have the meeting closed to the press but to prepare a news release acceptable to the politicians, which was made public. The PCKA also had the meeting proceedings summarized so that participants would have a record of what was said. As a result of that meeting the PCKA was assured that a clear and unequivocal statement would be made early during the fall sitting of the Legislature.

In addition to the meeting with the MLA's, PCKA members participated in open-line radio shows, they appeared on T.V. obtained press coverage of their activities, and kept a steady flow of letters coming to government officials.

In the fall of 1972, statements made by the Minister following the tabling of the Downey policy paper in the

Legislature were disappointing for the PCKA because they were interpreted to mean that there would be no support forthcoming for preschool education programs.

While Mr. Hyndman was not available to attend a PCKA meeting to explain the situation, he did indicate in a letter to Mrs. Youck that the Downey paper had not been accepted as Government policy and that a decision on an early childhood program could probably be expected by February or March 1973.

At a Progressive Conservative meeting held in late November, the PCKA received some encouragement. In response to a question put to him by a PCKA member, Mr. Hyndman indicated that while universal kindergartens were a long way down the road, an early childhood program which did not rule out some kindergartens, was a definite possibility.

In January 1973, the PCKA President, Mrs. B. Youck participated as a panelist in a discussion on alternatives in early childhood education, held by the Canadian College of Teachers. Instead of the expected statements of support for the PCKA at that discussion, Mrs. Youck heard her association's aspirations interpreted as being for "a watered-down Grade I program" and for "babysitting services". The only support came from Dr. Hawkesworth, the Deputy Minister of Education, who undoubtedly knew that the program being developed by the Government at that time would probably be flexible enough to accommodate the PCKA's wishes.[370]

Also in January 1973, the Minister of Culture, Youth, and Recreation, H. Schmidt, intervened on behalf of the PCKA by making available the necessary funds to prevent the closure of three PCKA kindergartens due to financial difficulties.

Regarding plans formulated by the PCKA to open additional kindergartens in the fall of 1973, Mr. Hyndman advised Mrs. Youck in February that these should be pursued. Shortly afterward, ECS was announced.

6.2 Input According to Phases

The major impact of the PCKA participation appears to have been at decision-making phase insofar as it applied political pressure which may have contributed to persuading the government to take action when it did.

6.3 Position on Basic Issues

6.3.1 Program or No Program

The PCKA was in favour of an early childhood program.

6.3.2 Governance

The PCKA supported a province-wide publicly-funded program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

6.3.3 Nature of Program

Strongest support seemed to be for kindergartens in the "readiness" sense, as they were being operated by the PCKA according to the EPSB curriculum.

6.3.4 Scope

The PCKA advocated that the program be universally available on an optional basis to all children four-and-a-half years of age to five-and-a-half, at which time they would be admitted into the regular primary program.

6.3.5 Sponsorship

According to the PCKA view, school boards would operate the programs in schools but with parental involvement.

6.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

ECS did not provide immediate universal kindergartens in the school system as the PCKA had advocated, but neither did it rule out kindergartens as a possible alternative, provided that high priority programs were implemented.

6.5 Leverage

6.5.1 Issue Relevance

The issue of government support for a universal kindergarten program was a top priority for the PCKA.

6.5.2 Resources

The PCKA claimed the backing of some 1,600 parents from 20 Cooperative Kindergartens in the Edmonton area. It also received editorial support from the Edmonton Journal regarding the cooperative kindergarten scheme, as well as consultative services to operate them, from some EPSB central office personnel, particularly Mrs. K. Chernoski.

Support for the PCKA request for universal kindergartens appeared to be strong and rapidly expanding, especially among parents who were in some way involved with the cooperative kindergartens.

6.5.3 Efficacy

There is no doubt that the PCKA was a highly visible political force whose mushrooming support among parents could not be ignored by the decision-makers.

7. Four Largest School Districts

7.1 Summary of Involvement

7.1.1 Calgary Public School Board

The CPSB is without doubt the pioneer of school-operated kindergartens in Alberta. Although strictly speaking there were no Kindergarten Grants the CPSB managed to obtain monies for the operation of its kindergarten classes from 1941 to 1954. When this source of funding was removed, the district withdrew from the operation of kindergarten classes and provided instead encouragement and consultant services to the community kindergartens. These thrived in Calgary from 1954 to the introduction of ECS (at least).

In 1965 a first experimental Kindergarten Class was set up with some funding from the Principal's

Leadership Program. The following year four preschool readiness classes were established and funded under provisions of the new Preventive Social Services Act. This program, for culturally-deprived five-year-olds, was further expanded to eight classes in 1967 despite the fact that funding under PSS was no longer available.

In 1968, eighteen classes were in operation. CPSB trustee, Harald Gunderson described the program as just a way of sneaking-in universal kindergartens, but was unsuccessful in having it curtailed.

By the fall of 1970, the CPSB was operating a total of fifteen kindergartens (usually holding two-half-day classes), an increase of five centres over the previous year.

In January of 1972, three classrooms were furnished and staffed by the CPSB but were financed by the Federal Government through the Department of National Defence.[371]

A continuing concern since 1965 when kindergarten classes were first made available to "deprived" children, was the fairness of having classes in some areas and not in others.

In October 1972, a report to the CPSB entitled Early Childhood Education, from its Elementary Division stated that a major paradox existed in Alberta:

> School boards and members of the Legislature should reflect the wishes of their constituents, yet although all indications are that the public want and seek universal opportunities for pre-school classes, no such move has been made in Alberta. 372

Trustee Harald Gunderson dismissed the report as being biased.[373]

In late February 1973, just over two weeks before ECS was announced, the CPSB approved a universally-available but optional kindergarten program on the condition that the Provincial Government provide the funding.

7.1.2 Edmonton Public School Board

It was only in 1968 that the EPSB, probably in part because of the urging of the Edmonton Council of Home and School Associations, established experimental kindergartens in two centres.

At the end of this one year experiment, it was decided to establish a kindergarten program in four centres for the 1969-1970 school year.

In 1970, in addition to the existing four kindergarten classes, the EPSB opened six more as an expansion of that program and four others as part of "Project Tenderness". The latter was a part of the Provincially-funded Inner-City Core Preschool Pilot Project. In all, there were fourteen kindergarten classes being operated by the EPSB at that time.

From late in 1970 to mid-1972, the EPSB received delegations from several groups of parents, each group arguing the case for the establishment of kindergartens in its own district. In the winter of 1971, two such groups, the Gold Bar Home and School Association, and the Belvedere Parents' Committee for Early Childhood Education, after seeing their demands rejected by the EPSB, went on to make representation directly to the Minister of Education. They called for Government grants to school boards in order to enable them to establish kindergartens.

In August of 1971, the EPSB, mainly due to the efforts of its Supervisor of Curriculum, Mr. Eldon Bliss, teamed up with the University of Alberta, Department of Elementary Education; the Edmonton Separate School Board; the Department of Social Development, Social Planning Branch; and the Department of Education; to establish the Cooperative Early Childhood Education Project (CECEP), funded through the Department of Education's Innovative Project Fund.

In 1972, the EPSB, in addition to operating fifteen kindergarten classes (including CECEP) was also providing a number of classrooms for the PCKA kindergartens.

Following the release of Downey's Social Audit in mid-February 1972, EPSB Superintendent Dr. R.W. Jones, remarked that the lack of kindergartens was strictly a matter of financing and that the provincial government hadn't realized the value of early childhood education to the point at least where they would be "willing to put their money where their mouth is".[374]

In late June 1972, an EPSB study reported that a system-wide kindergarten program would be feasible in the fall of 1973 in terms of available classroom space and of number of teachers with early childhood education training.

In October 1972, the EPSB, after much discussion of the "Worth Report" recommendation on early childhood education, defeated on a tie vote a motion that the board adopt a stand against universal kindergartens in Alberta.[375]

7.1.3 Calgary Separate School Board

Beginning with the 1965-66 school year, the CSSB launched an experimental preschool project in two of its schools, with fees being assessed to help finance it.

In the fall of 1970 it took what trustee Mrs. Green described as the first step toward establishing a system-wide kindergarten system by making classrooms available rent-free, and becoming involved in "cooperative participation".

By November 1972 the CSSB was operating fourteen half-day classes and thereby serving 350 of 2,000 eligible children.

7.1.4 Edmonton Separate School Board

With the amalgamation of the Jasper Place School District in 1965, the ESSB acquired three kindergartens. These were allowed to continue, with fees being collected to pay the teachers.

In 1966, upon request from the St. Rose Home and School Association, a kindergarten was established in that area.

In 1967 a few community organizations were also operating kindergartens in three schools, bringing in all, to seven, the total number of ESSB classrooms being used for kindergarten purposes.

In 1971, there were eleven kindergarten classes being operated by the ESSB. That same year, six preschool readiness classes were also opened.[376]

For the 1972-73 school year the number of ESSB Kindergartens stood at twenty-five, including the CECEP Innovative Project.[377]

7.2 Input According to Phases

It would appear that some contribution was made at the forecasting phase by the four largest school districts in Alberta. By implementing kindergartens and developing and piloting different approaches, they helped to generate and give credibility to certain alternatives which were then considered in the planning phase.

Mr. E. Bliss of the EPSB may have had an indirect input in the "planning" phase when he participated on the panel reacting to Downey's Opportunity for Infants.

Undoubtedly, the fact that the four largest school districts committed locally-raised funds for providing kindergarten and preschool readiness classes, seems to indicate that they saw a certain merit in such programs. Furthermore Calgary Public and Edmonton Public both had conducted feasibility studies showing that universal kindergartens were possible in their respective districts from the point of view of facilities and personnel. The feasibility studies also stated that provincial grants were needed to have the programs come about. Calgary Separate and Edmonton Separate, while not having carried out formal feasibility studies, were generally favourably disposed toward a universal program. This favourable attitude or receptivity of the four largest school districts appears to have been an important signal to the government in the decision-making phase.

7.3 Position on Basic Issues

It is necessary here to distinguish between the positions held by the "school boards" (that is, the trustees) and the "administration". In general it appears that the boards except for the Edmonton Separate and to a lesser extent the Calgary Separate were, like the ASTA, rather ambivalent and did not appear to be very convincing when finally they did adopt a position.

More specifically, the Edmonton Separate School Board expressed the strongest and most consistent support for publicly-funded, universally-available, preprimary programs; the Calgary Separate School Board, while it also seemed to favour this, did not publicly state its position; the Calgary Public School Board adopted a clear position on the matter just prior to ECS being announced; and the Edmonton Public School Board, as evidenced by the tie vote regarding its position on the early childhood recommendation of the"Worth Report",had not reached a consensus on that question.

The "administration" for the four largest school boards, (that is, the central office professional educators) appeared to hold a position quite similar to that held by the majority of professional educators elsewhere who were involved with the Alberta early childhood education question. This position, essentially was supportive of the Worth recommendation on the matter.

The positions described below are those of the school boards as reflected in resolutions adopted and in programs instituted.

7.3.1 Program or No Program

Judging from their actions in implementing preprimary programs, it can be said that the four largest school districts favoured such programs.

7.3.2 Governance

The four large school districts favoured the availability of public funds for the establishment of a preprimary program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

7.3.3 Nature of Program

The programs implemented by the boards were mainly the "readiness" type of kindergarten, although more and more the trend appeared to be toward a broader-based approach.

7.3.4 Scope

Preprimary programs in the four largest school districts gave priority to "disadvantaged" children.

Under a universal scheme in their respective systems the programs would likely have been available on an optional basis to children in the year immediately preceding admission into the primary program. Only the Edmonton Separate School Board publicly adopted a position favouring a province-wide universal program. Whereas the others may not have objected to this, they did not publicly adopt a position advocating it.

7.3.5 Sponsorship

While the boards encouraged parental participation in programs, they envisaged that when provincial funds became available, the programs would come under the jurisdiction of boards and be operated in schools.

7.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The positions held by the four largest school districts in Alberta, as evidenced by programs in operation and by resolutions passed, were compatible with ECS, although ECS made no provision for immediate universal kindergartens.

7.5 Leverage

7.5.1 Issue Relevance

More and more the preprimary education issue demanded board attention. The caution raised by opponents of such programs to the effect that once they were instituted, the trend would be irreversible and irresistable, proved to be correct. By setting up programs in needy areas, the want generated quickly expanded. Furthermore the desire to avoid "labelling" children as "disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived",for example,soon led to a blurring of what areas were to be considered "needy". While the issue may not have been among the top priorities prior to 1970, it did appear to be consistently gaining importance and momentum especially from that point on.

7.5.2 Resources

The four largest school districts moved from a position where they were responsible for some 38 percent of the total pupil enrollment in Alberta in 1961, to one where in 1971, they accounted for more than 50 percent of the total enrollment.[378]

Furthermore with the rapid urbanization of population in Alberta the Edmonton and Calgary parents got more MLA's to represent them with a good share of Cabinet Ministers,thus giving them a powerful voice in government.

This factor appears to be all the more important when it is pointed out that parent groups who could not get their way with the School Boards were referred to the Minister of Education in a "buck-passing" fashion. The Calgary Public School Board did this in grand fashion when they adopted a resolution which would implement system-wide kindergartens in their district provided that provincial funding was available. In a similar vein the statement by EPSB Superintendent Dr. R.W. Jones following the release of Downey's Social Audit clearly placed all the responsibility for the lack of preprimary programs in the lap of the provincial government.

Finally, among them, the four largest districts possibly had the largest grouping of professional staff with expertise in early childhood education, anywhere in the province.

7.5.3 Efficacy

The four largest school districts demonstrated more efficacy, and probably exercised more influence on the preprimary program issue, by what they did, than by what they said.

The public deliberations which took place over the issue certainly did not reflect a united front from within individual boards, and there was no overt attempt for the four boards to adopt a concerted view and/or strategy which might have led to greater efficacy.

From another perspective, some of the professional educators in the employ of the four largest school districts, who were committed to the early childhood education philosophy, demonstrated a certain efficacy through their participation as members of the larger "professional educators community" seeking to advance the early childhood education cause.

8.0 University of Alberta

8.01 Summary of Involvement

The University of Alberta (U of A), first and foremost, and later the University of Calgary to a lesser extent, played an important role through their respective Faculties of Education in the policy development process which led to ECS in Alberta. This role can perhaps best be described as, giving inspiration and leadership to the leaders.

The pro-kindergarten involvement of the Faculty of Education at the U of A dates back to the Cameron Commission in 1958 when it submitted a brief to the Commission and also contributed significantly to drafting the ATA brief.

The major part of the U of A involvement however, begins in the mid-sixties when Dr. Worth, Chairman of the Elementary Education Department launched the "critical years" idea in Alberta, and was the principal investigator in the ASTA-sponsored study of early childhood education in the province.

At aroung that time, Dr. E. King at the University of Calgary was instrumental in initiating a training program for kindergarten teachers there. At the U of A, Sheila Gracey from England and Dr. Beverly Cutler from Utah (U.S.A.) were appointed to the Elementary Education staff to assist in establishing certain key courses in the early childhood teacher education program.

From the very inception of the ATA Early Childhood Education Council, people from the universities were involved and worked closely with it. A good number of teachers who became active and sometimes assumed leadership roles in the ATA ECE Council were at one time or another students under Dr. M. Affleck at the University of Alberta. For example, Pearl Turner, Joyce Krysowaty, Sheila Campbell, Lorene Everett and Joyce Thain are a few of the more prominent ones who can be mentioned. Sheila Campbell became Director of Day Care for the City of Edmonton and also the founding Chairman of the Alberta Association for Young Children. Others such as Lois Campbell became an EPSB trustee, a Vice-President of the ASTA and Chairman of the ASTA Education Council. She played a key role in shaping the ASTA position.

The ATA Council Position Paper on ECE was primarily the responsibility of Dr. Affleck assisted by Pearl Turner, a graduate student in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta.

In the fall of 1968, the Department of Elementary Education established a demonstration kindergarten class as part of the teacher training program.

With the arrival of Dr. Horowitz, first as Chairman of the Department of Elementary Education, and then as Dean of the Faculty of Education, the involvement of the U of A became more visible than ever. Likewise when Dr. Worth, who at the time was Vice-President (Planning) for the U of A, became Commissioner of the Commission on Educational Planning, the importance of the role played by the University was again reinforced. (The contributions of both of these participants will be examined in a further section of this thesis.

8.0.2 Input According to Phases

The main contribution by the universities in the policy development process which led to ECS, appears to have been made at the forecasting phase. While the Universities themselves did not produce a position paper on early childhood education, their input (especially the U of A) into papers prepared by other groups such as the ATA and the ASTA, is undeniable.

Other inputs which may have had some impact at the planning or decision-making phases are more appropriately attributed to particular members acting as spokespersons for the interested university community, and will be discussed in a further section as inputs from these people.

8.0.3 Position on Basic Issues

8.0.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

8.0.5 Leverage

Because there were no position papers, nor formal resolutions stating a university position, no attempt will be made to extrapolate such a position. Rather the positions expressed by individual participants having a primary affiliation with the university will be deemed sufficient for the purposes of this study and will be discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Following a similar reasoning, Compatibility of Position with Outcome, and Leverage will not be discussed under the heading University of Alberta.

8.1 Dr. W.H. Worth

8.1.1 Summary of Involvement

In 1964, Dr. Worth, Chairman of the Department of Elementary Education at the U of A, capitalized on studies by Bloom to promote the "critical years" theme to several educational groups in Alberta, and in particular to the ASTA. This led to his being commissioned by the ASTA to undertake a study of early childhood education in Alberta. The report, Before Six, presented to the 1966 ASTA Convention, concluded that it was unmistakenly clear that Alberta needed publicly-supported kindergartens. The study was widely circulated among educators interested in early childhood education in Alberta, and was referred to in most reports or briefs on the topic up to about 1970.

In 1969 Dr. Worth, then Vice-President of the University of Alberta, was named Commissioner for the Commission on Educational Planning (CEP).

In June of 1972, the CEP released its report, A Choice of Futures, also known as the"Worth Report". Worth wrote that support found for early childhood education had been overwhelming and recommended the provision of universal opportunity and selective experience in early childhood education.

8.1.2 Input According to Phases

The two major contributions by Dr. Worth were, Before Six and A Choice of Futures, both of which appear to fit best in the forecasting phase of the policy development process.

There is no doubt however that A Choice of Futures had an impact at the planning phase.

Likewise, regarding a possible impact at the decision-making phase, it is interesting to note that there was no firm, publicly-announced commitment made prior to the release of the"Worth Report". In fact, it was mentioned several times that no decision would be made until the Report had been submitted.

There is no doubt that the positive early childhood education recommendation contained in the"Worth Report"was a key consideration at the decision-making phase.

It can also be argued that, aside from the "Worth Report"itself,the two-year process of public hearings and discussions along with the preparation of briefs by interested parties,probably had an important bearing on the outcome of the early childhood education debate. Public opinion generally may have become more sensitized to the early childhood education issue,and certain interest groups became motivated to study the question in order to define their position on it.

Grassroots participation in the CEP public involvement activities appears to have contributed to the establishment of a climate which can be described as positive and receptive toward the early childhood education issue.

8.1.3 Position on Basic Issues

8.1.3.1 Program or No Program

Dr. Worth stated strongly in 1966 and again in 1972, that an early childhood education program was needed in Alberta.

8.1.3.2 Governance

Dr. Worth advocated a publicly-funded province-wide program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. In A Choice of Futures he recommended that within the Department of Education,a Division of Early Education be created. He further advocated that such early childhood programs as day-care centres and playschools be transferred from the Department of Health and Social Development,to the Department of Education.

8.1.3.3 Nature of Program

While in Before Six, Dr. Worth specifically referred to a kindergarten program, in A Choice of Futures he advocated a broad-based program,with the overall purpose being self-fulfillment rather than merely readiness or academic training in the traditional sense.

8.1.3.4 Scope

In both, Before Six and A Choice of Futures,Dr. Worth advocated a universally available but optional program for all five-year-olds. The selective experience recommended in A Choice of Futures however, extended to the three-and-four-year-olds.

8.1.3.5 Sponsorship

School board-run programs were favoured in Before Six while variable sponsorship was recommended in A Choice of Futures.

8.1.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The area where the ECS program appears to be least compatible with the positions advocated by Dr. Worth on basic issues, is that of Governance. Dr. Worth advocated in A Choice of Futures that a restructured Department of Education, through its Division of Early Education, have jurisdiction over all early childhood programs; instead a Branch of the Department of Education in conjunction with a Coordinating Council, representing several government departments, was instituted to administer the program.

8.1.5 Leverage

8.1.5.1 Issue Relevance

There is no doubt that the early childhood issue was a highly relevant one for Dr. Worth.

8.1.5.2 Resources

At the time of the Before Six study, Dr. Worth was Chairman of the Department of Elementary Education at the University of Alberta and also became known as an "authority" on early childhood education in Alberta.

As the only Commissioner of the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning he was identified, in a sense, with all of the resources which went into the study and had a special input directly to the Government.

8.1.5.3 Efficacy

It appears that Dr. Worth made effective use of the opportunities and resources available to him, to promote the early childhood education cause. He would have to be ranked among the non-government persons involved in the early childhood policy process,who exercised the most leverage.

8.2 Dr. M. Horowitz

8.2.1 Summary of Involvement

Dr. M. Horowitz came to the University of Alberta as Chairman of the Department of Elementary Education in July 1969. Having been appointed one year prior to that time, he had made several visits to Alberta from McGill University in Montreal, and had identified early childhood education as an area which was very much in need of attention, and one in which he wanted to get involved.[379]

Soon after his arrival,he was appointed to the N-12 Education Task Force for the CEP, then,as National Chairman of OMEP,he was to a large extent responsible for drafting and presenting a brief to the CEP entitled Education for the Eighties. In the spring of 1970, the Innovative Projects Fund was established by the Minister of Education, Robert Clark. Dr. Horowitz was instrumental in persuading the Minister to allow the allocation of monies for early childhood experimental projects,from this fund.

In June of 1970 he was the principal speaker at the ASTA Banff Workshop and Seminar on early childhood education, and it was there that he was confronted by Harald Gunderson on the issue.

In July 1970 Dr. Horowitz sat on the Proposal Evaluation Committee for the Inner City Core Pre-School Pilot Project.

In February of 1971 Dr. Horowitz, as Chairman of OMEP, was the moderator for a public panel discussion organized by that group, to provide an opportunity for the political parties to state their positions on early childhood education, in view of the upcoming provincial general election.

In March of that year, Dr. Horowitz participated in meetings between the two Edmonton School Boards, the University of Alberta(Department of Elementary Education), and the Department of Education, which led to the Cooperative Early Childhood Education Project, funded through the Innovative Projects Fund.

In July of 1971 he was named as the University of Alberta, Faculty of Education representative on the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education.

At around that time he undertook the task, as principal investigator through AHRRC, to prepare a feasibility study: An Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education. This paper was submitted to the ASTA in November 1971.

In the fall of 1971 Dr. Horowitz began his term of office as President of the ATA ECE Council.

Early in 1972, the Minister's Advisory Committee was convened and started its work; Dr. Horowitz's paper *Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education* was adopted as the basis on which the Committee was to formulate its recommendations.

In March 1972 he was one of the conference speakers at the Study Seminar on Early Childhood Education sponsored by the Athabasca Regional Office.

In April 1972 the Canadian Committee on Early Childhood (OMEP Canada), with Dr. Horowitz as its Chairman, presented a brief to the Prime Minister of Canada, and similar briefs to provincial Premiers, calling for the establishment of Bureaus of Child Development at the federal and provincial levels.

In the summer of 1972, Dr. Horowitz, now Dean of the Faculty of Education at the U of A, was a member of the Panel of Judges which assisted the AHRRC team with the evaluation of the *Inner City Core Pre-School Pilot Project*.

In September 1972 the ATA Early Childhood Education Council, with Dr. Horowitz as President, submitted a brief entitled *Alternatives in Early Childhood Education*.

In mid-October, he participated in and was involved as one of the speakers, at the AAYC Annual Conference which resulted in the AAYC brief to the Government.

In late October Dr. Horowitz participated in a reaction committee for Downey's policy paper on early childhood development, Opportunities for Infants.

During the "debate" on early childhood education carried on in the newspapers, Dr. Horowitz was invited by the Minister of Education to submit his written commentary on an article written by Harald Gunderson. On a number of occasions during the policy development process Dr. Horowitz met informally with Mr. Hyndman, at which times early childhood education was discussed.

8.2.2 Input According to Phases

Dr. Horowitz contributed to the three phases of the policy development process being examined in this study. At the forecasting phase his input was mainly in the form of briefs which were submitted by the various groups with which he was associated. Dr. Horowitz's participation on the N-12 Task Force and the Minister's Advisory Committee also resulted in input into the forecasting phase.

At the planning phase, his participation on the reaction panel for Downey's policy paper can be considered as an indirect contribution to that phase, as can the reaction to drafts of Operational Plans as a member of the Minister's Advisory Committee.

At the decision-making phase Dr. Horowitz, while not in a position having decision-making authority, appears to have had some impact nevertheless, through his personal communication with the Minister.

8.2.3 Position on Basic Issues

8.2.3.1 Program or No Program

Dr. Horowitz was very strongly in favour of an early childhood program.

8.2.3.2 Governance

Dr. Horowitz favoured a publicly-supported early childhood program under the jurisdiction of a special unit of government such as an Office of Child Development, which if not a ministry in its own right, would consolidate all services to young children under one authority.

8.2.3.3 Nature of Program

A flexible, broad-based, integrated program was advocated. A strong educational component would constitute one of its dimensions.

8.2.3.4 Scope

Dr. Horowitz favoured universal opportunity and selective experience for young children as soon as they could benefit.

8.2.3.5 Sponsorship

Variable sponsorship of early childhood programs was advocated.

8.2.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The major area where the outcome (ECS) is not entirely compatible with the position advocated by Dr. Horowitz is that of governance. Contrary to what he would have preferred, ECS was not constituted as an independent unit of government.

8.2.5 Leverage

8.2.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue was a highly relevant one for Dr. Horowitz as evidenced by what could perhaps be described as the "crusade" which he undertook to bring about an early childhood program in Alberta.

8.2.5.2 Resources

Dr. Horowitz, in addition to being Chairman of the Elementary Education Department and later Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta appears to have been regarded as one of the foremost authorities in early childhood education in Alberta during the 1969 to 1973 period.

As a prestige figure, his membership was sought by several organizations. He capitalized on the opportunity provided by his affiliation with several groups to convey his message to those groups, and to persuade them in some cases to have the organization act as a vehicle for the transmission of that message to the government.

Dr. Horowitz furthermore participated on a number of "reaction panels" or similar committees where expertise and recognition in the field of early childhood education in Alberta appeared to be sought.

Finally Dr. Horowitz developed a highly positive professional relationship with the two Ministers of Education with whom he worked, Mr. Clark and Mr. Hyndman.

8.2.5.3 Efficacy

Dr. Horowitz utilized to very good advantage every opportunity and resource available to him to promote the early childhood cause and was without doubt one of the participants outside of government or the Department of Education who exercised the most leverage in the development of the Alberta early childhood program.

9. Press

9.1 Summary of Involvement

9.1.1 The Calgary Herald

In 1967 following the CPS Board's move toward providing preschool classes for disadvantaged children the *Herald* termed the approach sensible but questioned the fairness of it. It also asked that the straight-forward expression "kindergarten" be used instead of such meaningless jargon as "preprimary readiness classes". Still in 1967 the *Herald* favoured holding a referendum to decide if locally raised tax revenues should be used to fund kindergartens. It stated that elected representatives (the CPS Trustees) should govern themselves by what the people who elected them want rather than by what they think the people need, when it runs counter to public opinion or economic reality.

In late 1969 following the announcement by the Minister of Education Robert Clark, of the establishment of the Inner City Core Preschool Pilot Project in Edmonton and Calgary, the Calgary Herald expressed relief that the government was not ready to institute a universal kindergarten system in Alberta. It went on to say however that pilot projects were an "unnecessary waste" and that if the system couldn't afford the cost, then kindergartens should wait.

In mid July 1970 after learning that the Inglewood Community Association with Educorps had been chosen over the CPSB for the government-funded pilot project, the Herald sided with the CPSB in questioning the wisdom of the Minister's choice from a cost-effectiveness viewpoint.

Following the release of AHRRC's Toward a Social Audit in which Downey pointed to Alberta's early childhood education system as being possibly among the worst in Canada, the Herald argued that there were more pressing social needs than the setting up costly kindergartens. The editorial also pointed to the scarcity of evidence concerning the long-range educational value of kindergartens and stated that parents who wanted them for their children had managed to organize kindergartens at moderate cost through cooperative programs. Finally it hinted that Dr. Downey might simply be "gathering ammunition" to present a case for kindergartens to the provincial government.

Finally on March 1st, 1973, the Herald commented, regarding a CPSB announcement, that the board had put itself in the comfortable position of telling Calgary taxpayers that the CPSB should have universal kindergartens but that the provincial government should pay for them. The Herald warned however, that for the CPSB to merely expand the existing partial program as funds permitted, would be discriminatory and unacceptable.

9.12 Calgary Albertan

Although the contents of the Albertan were not reviewed as thoroughly as were the Calgary Herald and the Edmonton Journal, two editorials, published at important points in the policy development process, were singled out.

At the height of the "kindergarten debate" in the press, the Albertan, having carried Harald Gunderson's article in a two day series, printed an editorial stating that the early education philosophy outlined in the "Worth Report" would probably avoid the hazards identified by Mr. Gunderson. Even if it didn't avoid them all, the editorial argued, the benefits would far outweigh any difficulties. The Albertan, while commending Mr. Hyndman's caution in moving slowly, remarked that this caution should not be confused with procrastination, and that the machinery must be kept rolling to eventually provide a first-class early education program for Alberta.

Following the CPSB announcement that it would provide system-wide kindergartens if the government paid for them, the Albertan commented that this move made the CPSB look like a winner but didn't do very much for the children. The editorial stated that the CPSB decision accomplished two things:

- it strengthened the view that some form of organized learning should be provided for five-year-olds, and
- it recognized the inequity of the existing situation which discriminated against children from poorer families.

Finally the Albertan read the mood of the majority of Calgarians as agreeing with the majority of trustees that something needed to be done, but it stressed that serious thought be given to *what* should be done rather than merely forcing five-year-olds into the existing type of kindergarten program.

9.1.3 Edmonton Journal

In 1962, when the Department of Education assumed responsibility for private (non publicly-funded) kindergartens the Journal expressed satisfaction that standards had been set by the new regulations and that a kindergarten curriculum would be available. Kindergartens, the editorial said, must be more than "glorified baby-sitting bureaus" and must teach, not merely entertain.

In May of 1965, following an EPSB research report on planning and construction of elementary schools, which recommended that consideration should be given to providing kindergarten facilities in new schools to be built, the Edmonton Journal asked the Department of Education if it was asleep at the switch regarding the kindergarten question.

The editorial predicted that because of the widespread support for it, kindergartens would come to Alberta schools, cost notwithstanding. It asked therefore, that the provincial government exercise initiative, and provide public funding.

In 1966 following the ASTA convention at which the study Before Six was presented and a pro-kindergarten resolution was adopted, the Journal again asked the government to establish a kindergarten program for Alberta despite the other costly educational programs now underway. As a stop-gap measure the Journal recommended lowering the school-entrance age to five years.

In 1967 the Journal stated that a kindergarten program in the EPS System was inevitable because of rising support for it among young parents, educators and Albertans accustomed to having had them elsewhere. It cautioned however that a "babysitting service" or "head-start on Grade I" type of program, should be fiercely resisted.

In mid-April 1968, there was a marked shift in the position advocated by the Journal. A few days before the EPSB was to vote on setting up a kindergarten pilot project, the Journal stated in an editorial that kindergartens are a welfare concern rather than an educational one and should be selective (aimed at deprived children) rather than universal. It recommended that the EPSB abandon the idea of piloting kindergartens and warned that even if only two projects were set up, the pressure from parents to make it available to all five-year-olds children would be immediate and irresistible. This same position was reiterated in two other Journal editorials in 1968.

A year later it again reiterated that same position and added that the province couldn't afford it. Furthermore, the Journal suggested that some parents advocating kindergartens were really looking for babysitting services.

Interestingly, it recommended as an alternative to universal kindergartens, that a two-month summer school program be instituted for children to start school in the fall. A month earlier, the Westinghouse Study, Impact of Head Start concluded that summer programs had been ineffective and recommended that they be phased-out as early as possible.[380]

In January of 1971, a Journal editorial commented on the Inner-City Core Preschool Pilot Project funded by the provincial government, referred to in Edmonton, as "Project Tenderness". The Journal stated its support for the pilot project approach, in view of the enormous expenditures involved in a universal kindergarten program for the province, especially in the light of conflicting evidence about the worth of kindergartens.

Reacting to the early childhood recommendation contained in the "Worth Report", a few days after its release in June 1972, the _Journal_ stated that because of Dr. Worth's reputation as a strong public supporter of kindergartens, that recommendation was perhaps the least surprising in the Report. The editorial rejected Worth's arguments of widespread support for kindergartens, and Alberta being the only province without them, as being sufficient reason to justify their introduction in Alberta. (It should be noted that this was an oversimplification and a distortion of what Worth had actually said). The _Journal_ went on to remind the government that the time was long past when new projects could be implemented simply because they seemed to be a good idea.

In August 1972 the _Journal_ threw its editorial support behind the PCKA with their parent run kindergartens. "Whatever the benefits (of kindergartens)..." the editorial stated, "... the sad reality of educational financing is that only a finite sum of money is available - other priorities have already gobbled up most of it."

In December 1972, the _Edmonton Journal_ suggested that the ESSB support of universal kindergartens appeared to be simply based on faith and lacking objective relevance. It argued that because of limited funds, rational choices needed to be made, and kindergartens were not the panacea for educational ills they were once believed to be.

9.2 Input According to Phases

The major input by the press appears to have been in a remote and indirect manner at the decision-making level where it probably reinforced Mr. Hyndman's intention to proceed with a program which was not simply universal kindergartens, but a phased program giving priority to the needy, and responding to expressed local needs.

9.3 Position on Basic Issues

9.3.1 Program or No Program

The Calgary Herald did not adopt a position favouring a program but seemed disposed to go along with one if other priorities had been attended to, and if the province could afford a preschool program.

The Albertan supported a preschool program.

The Edmonton Journal first (1966-1967) actively promoted a program, then (1968-1973) became much less supportive, although it did not oppose a compensatory kind of program.

9.3.2 Governance

The Calgary Herald did not specifically address the issue of governance but appeared to function under the assumption that a preschool program would be under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.

The Albertan appeared to favour public funding for a preprimary program under the Department of Education.

The Edmonton Journal, during 1966 and 1967 appeared to favour a publicly-funded kindergarten under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education, but from 1968 to 1973 maintained that preschool programs belonged under social welfare agencies, not education.

9.3.3 Nature of Program

The Calgary Herald referred to kindergartens, in its editorials.

The Albertan favoured a program better suited to preschool children than the readiness type kindergartens.

The Edmonton Journal during 1966 and 1967 was referring to kindergartens, whereas from 1968 to 1973 it was viewing the preschool program as a compensatory program for deprived children.

9.3.4 Scope

The Calgary Herald seemed to be referring to universal kindergartens.

The Albertan was referring to a province-wide universal program for all five-year-olds.

The Edmonton Journal from 1966 to 1967 inclusive, held a similar view while from 1968 to 1973 it advocated a selective rather than a universal program, aimed only at disadvantaged children.

9.3.5 Sponsorship

The Calgary Herald, the Albertan and the Edmonton Journal in 1966-1967, were all referring to a school operated preprimary program. From 1968 to 1973 however, the Edmonton Journal adopted the position that an early childhood program should be the responsibility of social welfare agencies and not of the education system.

9.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

There was no serious incompatibility between the respective positions of the three major Alberta newspapers and ECS. ECS was phased, thereby taking into account the Calgary Herald's major objection which seemed to be one related to cost. Regarding the Albertan's concern over the traditional type of program, ECS did not impose a set program.

The Edmonton Journal's position was also compatible with ECS to the extent that although ECS was placed under the Education Department, it included provisions for and indeed priority to programs for disadvantaged children.

9.5 Leverage

9.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood program issue does not appear to have been a top priority issue for the press. The Albertan and the Edmonton Journal however, did seem to adopt clearer and stronger positions on it than the Calgary Herald. During the "press debate" in November 1972, which Mr. Gunderson was trying to promote, only the Calgary Herald among the three major papers, did not carry Mr. Gunderson's article.

9.5.2. Resources

Apparently the potential resources of the press on such an issue, were considerable because of the wide readership including parents, taxpayers, voters and decision-makers.

9.5.3 Efficacy

It does not appear that the press actualized its full potential leverage on the early childhood program issue. Nevertheless, the constant presence of this issue in the press during the 1963 to 1973 decade, probably contributed not only to keeping the issue alive but also to generate public interest and support for it. Finally, the "press debate", although short-lived, resulted in the writing of a considerable number of letters to the Minister of Education concerning the early childhood program question.

10. Dr. L.W. Downey

10.1 Summary of Involvement

Dr. Downey's participation in the policy development process leading to ECS was primarily through three documents which he authored.

As Director of the Alberta Human Resources Research Council (AHRRC), Dr. Downey headed the research activities for the Commission on Educational Planning of which he was a Board member. He himself prepared a position paper for the CEP, entitled Organizing a Province-Wide System of Education to Accommodate the Emerging Future. In this paper, Dr. Downey argued that the time was right for incorporating early childhood education in the education system.

In early 1972, as one of the final AHRRC activities before its demise, Dr. Downey released Alberta 1971: Toward a Social Audit in which he pointed to Alberta's record in early childhood education as being possibly one of the poorest in Canada. He also raised the question of why virtually nothing was being done for children in Alberta, during the "critical years". This document and in particular the statements about the comparatively poor condition of early childhood education in Alberta, received headline coverage in the Calgary Herald and in the Edmonton Journal.

Finally in November 1972, Dr. Downey submitted Opportunities for Infants to the Government as a policy paper on early childhood development in order to provide a rationale and to map out strategy for the early childhood issue.

10.2 Input According to Phases

Through his CEP position paper and Social Audit, both prepared while he was the Director of the Alberta Human Resources Research Center, Dr. Downey contributed mainly to the forecasting phase. Opportunities for Infants, however was an important contribution to the planning phase and undoubtedly also had an important impact at the decision-making phase.

10.3 Position on Basic Issues

10.3.1 Program or No Program

Dr. Downey favoured an early childhood program.

10.3.2 Governance

In his CEP position paper, Downey spoke of incorporating early childhood education into the education system, hence under the Department of Education. In Opportunities for Infants he advocated that the program be under an Early Childhood Authority, representing an interdepartmental commitment.

10.3.3 Nature of Program

While Downey did not expand on the nature of the program in his first two documents, in Opportunities for Infants, he advocated a broad-based, integrated program.

10.3.4 Scope

Downey stated that the earlier a child is exposed to facilitation programs,the more likely these programs are to have maximum impact. While ultimately he favoured a universally-available general enrichment program, he recommended that priority be given to needy children in a phased implementation.

10.3.5 Sponsorship

Downey stated that the government should avoid "taking over" but instead should build upon the existing programs and maintain the involvement of the people and groups already involved. From this it appears that he was favourable to variable sponsorship.

10.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The directions followed by the government on the basic early childhood program issues are quite consistent with the policy paper recommendations. It should not be overlooked however that the recommendations made were consistent with what the government was prepared to support.

10.5 Leverage

10.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue appeared to be a highly relevant one for him as evidenced for example by the statements made pertaining to it in Social Audit.

10.5.2 Resources

As a CEP Board member and Director of the AHRRC, Dr. Downey occupied a very important position. Having been selected to prepare the policy paper on early childhood opportunities for the government he was in a favoured position for having serious consideration given to his input. He was viewed by some participants however, as an "outsider" regarding the early childhood program question.

10.5.3 Efficacy

It appears that Downey utilized the resources available to him to promote his view of an early childhood program with a fairly high level of efficacy.

11. Cabinet

11.1 Summary of Involvement

Since the events which can be most directly linked to the establishment of ECS occurred starting approximately in the mid-1960's, that point in time is judged to be a defensible one to begin the review of overnment involvement and(more specifically Cabinet) in the policy development process leading to ECS in Alberta.

The major involvement of the Social Credit Cabinet from the mid-1960's to 1969, consisted in its refusal to involve the government in any public funding of preschool programs. The main reason given was that of cost,but quite likely the lack of conviction by the Cabinet regarding the need for and the merits of an early childhood program,was also quite an important reason.

From 1969 until the elections in August of 1971, under Harry Strom as Premier and Robert Clark as Minister of Education, some important activities related to the preschool field, were initiated. Among these were: the establishment of the Commission on Educational Planning headed by Dr. W.H.Worth,the inner-city core pilot projects in Calgary and Edmonton and the Innovative Projects.

While Mr. Clark personally placed a high priority on early childhood education, he faced considerable opposition in Cabinet for any expenditure of public funds in that area. The Provincial Treasurer A. Aalborg, a former Minister of Education, was strongly against publicly-funded kindergartens.

At the time of the elections, the Social Credit Government's position was that no further developments could take place until the evaluations of ongoing pilot projects were completed and until the "Worth Report" had been received.

There seemed to be a definite preference for the compensatory type of preschool program, which would come under the jurisdiction of the Department of Health and Social Development.

When the Progressive Conservatives formed the Government of Alberta they had an election commitment to fully involve five-year-olds in the educational process by lowering the entrance age after a phasing-in period. This was widely interpreted to mean that they would introduce some form of universal preprimary program. This intention was confirmed by both the Minister of Education Lou Hyndman and the Minister of Health and Social Development Neil Crawford, barely a month after taking office.

Early in the fall 1972 session of the Legislature, the Cabinet Committee on Education, comprised of Ministers Foster, Hohol and Hyndman, tabled a response to the Worth Commission Report after having reviewed all reactions received concerning the CEP recommendations.

The recommendation of the Cabinet Committee on Education, regarding the essence of Worth's early childhood education proposal, was positive.[381]

It was shortly thereafter that Mr. Hyndman secured approval in principle from Cabinet for an early childhood program.[382]

Mr. Hyndman, himself a strong proponent of a preschool program, was identified as a powerful member in Cabinet and Caucus. Furthermore he had the support of Dr. Hohol, H. Schmidt, N. Crawford and D. Getty, among others.

Although there was a "fair amount" of convincing required among members of Cabinet and Caucus, it was mostly along the lines of workability and timing of the program proposed by Mr. Hyndman rather than on the desirability of developing a program.[383]

The major decisions such as those pertaining to the general principles and timing of the program were made by Cabinet, but in the final analysis, the key responsibility for the program going or not going, or going and failing, rested on the shoulders of Lou Hyndman.

When the Ministers of Health and Development, and of Culture, Youth and Recreation, were asked to participate in developing the early childhood policy at the ministerial level, they agreed but were "almost surprised" that the Minister of Education wanted their involvement.[384] There was formed what may appropriately be referred to as a sort of informal coalition. To some extent the three ministers of government disregarded the traditional "territorial rights" of their respective departments and collaborated to make ECS possible.

Once the general orientations for the program, which had been approved in principle by Cabinet, were developed in Operational Plans, further involvement of Cabinet came when final approval was granted prior to the program being submitted to the Legislature.

11.2 Input According to Phases

The direct involvement of Cabinet was almost exclusively at the decision-making phase of the policy process. Furthermore, the authority to make the formal final decision on an early childhood program, in other words to establish the ECS policy, rested with the Cabinet.

Whereas, the direct involvement by Cabinet in the planning phase may have been very limited, its impact was nonetheless very important. The planning carried out was along directions presumed to be consistent,or at least compatible,with the anticipated formal decision.

11.3 Position on Basic Issues

The position held by Cabinet on basic issues became ECS policy on these issues. No evidence was found of any major shift in the positions held by the Progressive Conservative Cabinet once these had been defined and adopted in principle.

11.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

Since it was Cabinet who made the decision which constituted the ECS policy, its position is identical with the outcome.

11.5 Leverage

11.5.1 Issue Relevance

While the early childhood program issue was not publicly identified as a "top priority", it appears, as evidenced by the fact that it was acted upon, that it ranked fairly high in the new government's order of priorities.

11.5.2 Resources

As the executive arm of a majority government, Cabinet possessed enormous resources for establishing such policies as that relating to ECS. While the other participants in the process could only offer suggestions regarding desirable directions to be followed, the government had the freedom to accept or reject any input, and ultimately had the exclusive authority to formulate policy in accordance with its interpretation of the public interest.

In addition to the resources which are attached to the government, the Cabinet was also able to draw on expert knowledge from studies such as the "Worth Report"and Downey's Opportunities for Infants. Furthermore, through the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education which provided a mechanism for consultation with representatives of the major interest groups, the government was able to anticipate that the program would not encounter massive opposition when adopted.

11.5.3 Efficacy

The government utilized its resources successfully to have the various inputs screened, then consolidated, interpreted and integrated to produce a comprehensive early childhood services policy for Alberta.

12.0 Department of Education

12.0.1 Summary of Involvement

It was only in 1962, when changes in legislation, brought private (non publicly-funded) kindergartens under its jurisdiction, that the Department of Education became involved to any significant extent with the operation of preschool programs.

No important change in this regard took place after that, until Robert Clark became Minister of Education. Under Mr. Clark's term of office, the Department of Education was involved in the Innovative Projects, which included a few early childhood-related projects, and the Inner City Core Preschool Pilot Project in Edmonton and Calgary. That project introduced the Request for Proposal approach for project submissions to the early childhood field.

At the time of the provincial general elections in August 1971, the Department of Education's involvement in pre-school programs consisted in controlling the pre-school experimental projects getting underway through Innovative Projects and overseeing the operation of kindergartens through the administration of the Kindergarten Regulations.

Under the new government and Lou Hyndman as Minister of Education, this involvement remained pretty well unchanged until early in 1972. At that time, the Innovative Projects program was terminated, the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education, with increased Department of Education representation, was activated, and the Department under its new Deputy Minister Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth was pursuing a deliberate policy of planning regarding a possible early childhood program.

Statements made by the Minister and the Deputy Minister in early 1972 confirmed that a number of different alternatives for an Alberta early childhood program were being explored.

In March a seminar to discuss alternative possibilities was sponsored by the Athabasca Regional Office of Education.

In September, 1972, following the release of the Worth report and as a reaction to it, a discussion paper prepared by Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi and W.L. Hill entitled

Reorganization of the Department of Education was circulated widely within the Department and was said to be "largely influential in determining the organization of the Department of Education to deliver Early Childhood Services." [385]

Also at about that time the Directors' Council of the Department of Education, expressed its support for an "integrated" early childhood program.[386]

A receptivity and a generally favourable disposition seemed to exist within the Department of Education regarding Government action to initiate an early childhood program.[387]

Even before the time limit set by the Government for receiving reactions to the "Worth Report" had expired, Dr. H.I. Hastings was appointed Director of Early Childhood Services.

During the preparation of the Downey policy paper on early childhood development, the Associate Deputy Minister, Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi, along with Dr. H.I. Hastings participated on a panel of reactors which reviewed a draft of the document prior to the elaboration of a final version for submission to the Government.

From early November 1972 to the time of the announcement of ECS in March of 1973, Dr. Hastings worked at preparing Operational Plans for Early Childhood Services. Aside from the direct participation of Dr. Hastings, Dr. Hrabi and Dr. Hawkesworth, and the indirect contribution by Department of Education members sitting on the Minister's Advisory Committee, there appears to have been relatively little involvement in the elaboration of the ECS program by other Department of Education personnel.

Because of the fairly clear differentiation of roles played by the various Department of Education participants in this policy development process, the contributions of the major participants will be examined individually rather than collectively under the heading of Department of Education.

12.1 The Hon. Louis Hyndman

12.1.1 Summary of Involvement

Lou Hyndman was one of only six Progressive Conservative MLAs elected in the 1967 provincial elections. He soon became the Opposition spokesman on educational matters and, through his statements in the Legislature, was identified as a champion of kindergartens. In early 1968, for example, he called for the immediate implementation of universal kindergartens.

During the 1971 provincial election campaign he indicated that if he were elected, early childhood education would receive high priority in the education domain. His party's official position was in support of a phased lowering of the school entrance age in order to make educational opportunities available to five-year-olds.

Upon becoming Minister of Education he confirmed his intention of taking action during his term of office, to improve the early childhood situation in Alberta. Mr. Hyndman identified as a special priority the need for integrating preschool programs from the Department of

Health and Social Development with those of the Department of Education. He stated that his role would be to fight in the Cabinet and the Legislature to convince the government of the need for early childhood education.

In October 1971, Mr. Hyndman had Dr. Church prepare A Resume of Early Childhood Education; Present Status, Future Plans and Estimated Costs in Establishing a Publicly Supported Kindergarten Program.

After having assessed the existing advisory committees relative to education, the Minister decided to retain the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education.

Following the statement in Downey's Social Audit in January 1971, regarding the poor state of early childhood education in Alberta, Mr. Hyndman expressed his personal conviction regarding the need for an early childhood program. At around that time he also told a conference of Alberta Superintendents that the Government had an open mind on the nature of an early childhood program, and that a program would not be imposed on school boards.

In March, he participated as one of the key speakers in the Seminar on early childhood education sponsored by the Athabasca Regional Office of Education.

In May, Mr. Hyndman received the Recommendations of Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education and in mid-June, the "Worth Report" was released.

In July, the Minister heard a delegation from the Parent Cooperative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton. He advised them that he had but one voice in Cabinet and that the PCKA should also attempt to convince other Cabinet members.

In October, Mr. Hyndman appointed Dr. Hastings as Director of Early Childhood Services and commissioned Dr. Downey to prepare a policy paper on early childhood development, for the Government.

Mr. Hyndman was a member of the Cabinet Committee on Education, which reviewed the reactions received regarding the"Worth Report",and made a recommendation essentially supportive of the Worth recommendation on early childhood education.

Shortly afterward,approval in principle was received from Cabinet for what was to become the Early Childhood Services program.

Following the tabling of the Downey policy paper in the Legislature on November 20th, the Minister made public statements to reduce the high expectations held for the establishment of universal kindergartens. During the "press debate" which ensued, Mr. Hyndman was referred to as being an opponent of kindergartens along with ASTA President Harald Gunderson.

At the meeting of the Minister's Advisory Committee held on November 24 and 25th,the "go" signal was made known to the Committee members.

At around that time, work pertaining to the preparation of a suitable program for presentation to the Spring session of the Legislature was intensified. Mr. Hyndman was directly involved in working out the program itself, through meetings with the Deputy Minister and Dr. Hastings, as well as through participation in discussions with the Advisory Committee.

On March 12, 1973, Mr. Hyndman announced the Alberta Early Childhood Services program.

12.1.2 Input According to Phases

The Minister of Education was directly involved in the planning phase through his communication with Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Hastings during the drafting of Operational Plans.

Furthermore, he was the key participant in the decision-making phase.

12.1.3 Position on Basic Issues

12.1.3.1 Program or No Program

From as far back as 1968, Mr. Hyndman is on record as having been in favour of an early childhood program.

12.1.3.2 Governance

Until he became Minister, Mr. Hyndman spoke of a program under the Department of Education only. After that, his position evolved to one favouring also the participation of other Departments.

12.1.3.3 Nature of Program

From a position of advocating kindergartens in the "traditional" sense, while a member of the Opposition in the Legislature, Mr. Hyndman came to support a broad-based, integrated early childhood program as the Minister of Education.

12.1.3.4 Scope

Whereas initially Mr. Hyndman called for a universal program for all five-year-olds, the program which he approved extended a selective experience opportunity to children as young as three years of age.

12.1.3.5 Sponsorship

From exclusive school board sponsorship, Mr. Hyndman moved to a position favouring variable sponsorship.

12.1.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

Not only was the Alberta Early Childhood Services program as the Minister of Education wanted it, but even more remarkable, was that the program was flexible and comprehensive enough to be essentially acceptable to the major interest groups.

12.1.5 Leverage

12.1.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue was highly relevant to Mr. Hyndman. In fact, during his first two years in office he spent more time on it than on any other issue.[388]

12.1.5.2 Resources

As the Minister of Education responsible for one of the largest Government Departments, Mr. Hyndman's resources were enormous.

Furthermore, Mr. Hyndman was generally acknowledged as being among the most powerful members of Cabinet.

Finally, in addition to "doing his homework" and becoming relatively well-informed on the early childhood question himself, he sought the advice of persons such as Dr. Horowitz, recognized as knowledgeable in that field.

12.1.5.3 Efficacy

Mr. Hyndman appears to have been regarded as a highly competent and persuasive member of Government who also took the time to listen.

He was, without any doubt, the participant who exercised the most leverage in the ECS policy development process.

12.2 Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth

12.2.1 Summary of Involvement

Soon after his appointment as Deputy Minister of Education under Lou Hyndman as the Minister of Education, Dr. Hawkesworth became involved in a preliminary exploration of possible alternatives for the implementation of an early childhood education program in Alberta. This was confirmed in the statement made on the matter to a Northeastern Alberta Teachers Convention held in February 1972.

Throughout 1972 primarily, Dr. Hawkesworth devoted some time to what was described by Mr. Hyndman as "building bridges", referring to the establishing of horizontal communication links with the other government departments to be involved,and initiating some of the necessary groundwork for interdepartmental collaboration in an early childhood program.[389]

Following the appointment of Dr. Hastings as Director of ECS, Dr. Hawkesworth was involved in an ongoing manner in reviewing and refining preferred alternatives from among the several possibilities put forward in the earlier drafts of Operational Plans. As the program evolved, he appears to have played a critical "linking pin" role in advising the Minister, in keeping him informed and in conveying important feedback to Dr. Hastings.

12.2.2 Input According to Phases

Dr. Hawkesworth's major contribution in the ECS policy development process appears to have been made at the planning and decision-making phases.

At the planning phase, Dr. Hawkesworth participated directly by approving the initial outline for Operational Plans and later through his role in reviewing the various alternatives presented on important points.

At the decision-making phase, Dr. Hawkesworth was responsible for making some preliminary decisions such as in the elimination of certain alternatives. Regarding the final decision, while Dr. Hawkesworth did not participate directly, there is no doubt that his support of the program as Deputy Minister of Education, was an important consideration in Mr. Hyndman's mind when he recommended to Cabinet the formal approval of the program.

12.2.3 Position on Basic Issues

12.2.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

Probably because of the nature of Dr. Hawkesworth's role as Deputy Minister, his position on the basic issues is indistinguishable from the official ECS position.

12.2.5 Leverage

12.2.5.1 Issue Relevance

As soon as the early childhood issue was identified as a government priority, it became highly relevant to the Deputy Minister of Education, aside from whatever the degree of relevance the issue may otherwise have had for him.

12.2.5.2 Resources

As Deputy Minister of Education, (one of the largest departments of the Alberta Government) the resources available to Dr. Hawkesworth were considerable.

12.2.5.3 Efficacy

The resources available appear to have been highly effectively utilized. From an administrative viewpoint, the logistics of creating a totally new program requiring interdepartmental collaboration, under a new branch of the Department of Education, was ultimately Dr. Hawkesworth's responsibility. The fact that the program was ready to be launched on schedule, despite the relatively brief time allowed for its development, is evidence of effective project management. From a personal efficacy viewpoint, Dr. Hawkesworth's role appears to have been pivotal in the maintenance of a favourable working climate throughout the project and particularly a positive relationship among those intimately involved with it.

12.3 Dr. J.S.T. Hrabi

12.3.1 Summary of Involvement

Dr. Hrabi's first involvement with the early childhood education question appears to have been his membership on the Innovative Projects Approval Board which reviewed some experimental pre-school projects submitted for approval. Later he served on the Inner-City Core Preschool Pilot Project, Proposal Evaluation Committee, and also on the Reaction Panel for the Downey policy paper.

Dr. Hrabi's most important involvement however appears to have centered around his proposals regarding the organization of the Department of Education which he outlined in a paper entitled Reorganization of the Department of Education co-authored with W.L. Hill in September of 1972. This paper, drawing from a number of sources internal to the Department of Education, appears to have been largely influential in determining the organization of the Department of Education to deliver Early Childhood Services.

12.3.2 Input According to Phases

Primarily through the discussion paper which he co-authored Dr. Hrabi's main input appears to have been at the planning phase. Furthermore, as Associate Deputy Minister responsible for the Instructional Services Division under which ECS was to be located, it appears likely that his views were taken into account, (at least indirectly through the Deputy Minister) at the decision-making phase.

12.3.3 Position on Basic Issues

12.3.3.1 Program or No Program

In his September 1972 discussion paper Dr. Hrabi expressed support for an early childhood program.

12.3.3.2 Governance

Dr. Hrabi favoured the establishment of a directorate of early childhood under the Instructional Services Division of the Department of Education, to serve the immediate needs of the Department of Education.[390]

12.3.3.3 Nature of Program

Dr. Hrabi appears to have been supportive of a broad-based early childhood program.

12.3.3.4 Scope

In the discussion paper, Dr. Hrabi recommended that the directorate of early education be responsible for the education of all students prior to year one of basic education, including the handicapped children.

12.3.3.5 Sponsorship

Dr. Hrabi appears to have been receptive to the variable sponsorship idea.

12.3.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

Notably concerning the issue of governance on which Dr. Hrabi seems to have concentrated the main thrust of his input relative to the early childhood topic, the position which he advocated bears a remarkable resemblance to the final outcome.

12.3.5 Leverage

12.3.5.1 Issue Relevance

Considering that he was responsible for the Instructional Services Division under which would be subsumed the proposed early childhood directorate, the issue seems to have been highly relevant to Dr. Hrabi.

12.3.5.2 Resources

As Associate Deputy Minister, Dr. Hrabi appears to have had substantial resources.

12.3.5.3 Efficacy

Considering the high degree of similarity between the organizational structure governing ECS and the structure which was approved by government it appears that the resources available to Dr. Hrabi were effectively mobilized. This can be interpreted as an indication of a fairly high level of efficacy regarding the governance issue.

12.4 Dr. H.I. Hastings

12.4.1 Summary of Involvement

Dr. Hastings' first involvement in the ECS policy development process came with his role as Consultant and then Coordinator of the Innovative Projects program.

It was through the High Prairie Innovative Project that the concept of interdepartmental involvement and cooperation in a pre-school program in Alberta was first operationalized.

After the election of the new provincial Government in 1971, Dr. Hastings was appointed an Associate Director of Curriculum. It is not known whether or not this appointment was made with a view to his future appointments as the Director of ECS exactly one year later.

Immediately following his appointment as Director of ECS on October 1, 1972 (which was not announced even within the Department), Dr. Hastings began the planning of the ECS system.

In addition to carrying out intensive work on the preparation of successive drafts of Operational Plans, Dr. Hastings served on the panel of reactors for the Downey policy paper and participated on the Minister's Advisory Committee (replacing Dr. Torgunrud) where official drafts of Operational Plans were reviewed.

In the process of preparing Operational Plans he met with the Deputy Minister and, on two occasions, also, with the Minister. Furthermore, he consulted with several people, notably among others, with Mr. M. Finlay from the Department of Culture, Youth, and Recreation.

12.4.2 Input According to Phases

Dr. Hastings' major contribution was at the planning phase of the policy development process. He was in large part responsible for designing the ECS system. This involved assembling from the multitude of inputs available, the elements of a coherent and workable program which would satisfy the broad directions set by the government for the Alberta early childhood program. The assistance that Dr. Hastings got from other participants was mainly in the form of reactions to drafts of the document.

While Dr. Hastings did not play a "decision-making" role in the process of developing the ECS policy, he undoubtedly had some impact, albeit in an indirect manner, at the decision-making phase, since his Operational Plans was the object of the formal final decision which established the policies.

12.4.3 Position on Basic Issues

12.4.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

Dr. Hastings' assignment was essentially to design an early childhood system which would translate the basic policies already approved in principle by the Government into a workable program. Consequently his personal position on issues were not identified as such, although it appears that they were largely in agreement with the policies adopted to govern the ECS program.

12.4.5 Leverage

12.4.5.1 Issue Relevance

It appears that the issue was of the highest relevance to Dr. Hastings, as evidenced by the considerable amount of time and energy which he devoted to it.

12.4.5.2 Resources

The unique position in which Dr. Hastings found himself, having a large portion of the responsability for the "planning" phase gave him considerable resources at that phase.

12.4.5.3 Efficacy

It appears that the resources at Dr. Hastings disposition were utilized to good advantage. He was given a specific task to perform which he accomplished in accordance with the expectations of his superiors. The leverage which he appears to have exercised was through his Operational Plans, which were adopted by Government as the official policies to govern ECS.

12.5 Dr. E.J.M. Church

12.5.1 Summary of Involvement:

Dr. Church became involved with the early childhood education issue at the time of the preparation of the Department of Education Kindergarten Manual in 1963, when he was Superintendent of Schools at Brooks, Alberta.

Later, as Director of Special Services in the Department of Education and also as Director of Pupil Personnel Services, kindergartens fell within his jurisdiction. It was by virtue of this that he served as Chairman of the Kindergarten Committee. When the Kindergarten Committee began pressing for action regarding the revision of the Kindergarten Manual and the updating of Kindergarten Regulations, Dr. Church had the difficult task of trying to contain the drive and initiative of some of its members, in order to remain within the spirit of the government policy at that time, which did not favour any new developments in the preschool field.

Under Robert Clark as Minister of Education, Dr. Church prepared reports pertaining to kindergartens and also drafted at the Minister's request, a position paper presenting the broad outline of a plan for the implementation of an early childhood education program in Alberta. The position paper which was circulated within the Department of Education, got little opposition but neither did it evoke any feedback from the Minister.

When the inner city core preschool pilot projects were launched in 1970, Dr. Church assumed responsibility for coordinating the program. He also sat on the Preventive Social Services Board of the Department of Health and Social Development, as the Department of Education liaison person.

Under the new government, with Lou Hyndman as Minister of Education, Dr. Church continued initially in his former role of reporting on the status of Department of Education involvement in early childhood education and also in his role as Chairman of the Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE formed just prior to the elections.

Because of the lack of clear direction given to the Committee during the first year of office of Mr. Hyndman, Dr. Church again had the ungrateful task, as Chairman, of trying to reconcile the Committee's desire for action (or at least direction) and the Minister's need for more time to chart directions for possible action.

12.5.2 Input According to Phases

Dr. Church's major contribution appears to have been at the forecasting phase through his Position Paper on Early Childhood Education, in the fall of 1969. Although no action followed directly from this paper it may have helped to crystallize and consolidate views on the subject within the top echelons of the Department of Education. The paper did reach beyond the boundaries of the Department of Education and probably helped to keep the issue alive and lend support to early childhood education proponents.

As a member of the Minister's Advisory Committee Dr. Church's input was mainly through its Recommendations and the reaction to Operational Plans. This input will be discussed in a further section of this chapter.

12.5.3 Position on Basic Issues

12.5.3.1 Program or No Program

Dr. Church was very much in favour of an early childhood program.

12.5.3.2 Governance

In his position paper written in 1969, Dr. Church referred to a publicly-funded program under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education but also recommended the involvement of other Government Departments through a Coordinating Council.

12.5.3.3 Nature of Program

While his position paper referred primarily to a kindergarten program, Dr. Church's conceptualization of the early childhood program appears to have been sufficiently flexible to include components other than education in its restricted academic sense.

12.5.3.4 Scope

The position paper envisaged universal opportunities for all five-year-olds as well as special opportunities and priority for disadvantaged children younger than five years of age.

12.5.3.5 Sponsorship

Dr. Church appeared to favour school board-operated early childhood programs.

12.5.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

There is a strong resemblance between some aspects of Dr. Church's position and ECS. Notably the idea of a Coordinating Council to administer the involvement of other Government Departments was retained in ECS.

12.5.5 Leverage

12.5.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue appears to have been highly relevant to Dr. Church as evidenced by his continued involvement with it over a number of years.

12.5.5.2 Resources

Because of the political circumstances

surrounding Dr. Church's involvement as Chairman of the Kindergarten Committee and then for a while the Minister's Advisory Committee, the leverage which might otherwise have been associated with such a role, was not available to Dr. Church. As a civil servant he was restricted in his actions by the Government policies in effect.

12.5.5.3 Efficacy

Dr. Church was consistent and persistent in his quest for a publicly-funded universal early childhood education program. It appears that he may have exercised a fair amount of leverage in an unobtrusive "behind-the-scenes" way.

12.6 Dr. E. Torgunrud

12.6.1 Summary of Involvement

Dr. Torgenrud's involvement with the early childhood education question appears to have started with his participation on the CEP N-12 Task Force. The Task Force discussed early childhood education and submitted a proposal to the CEP Commissioner calling for a universal program.

Dr. Torgunrud was also one of the Department of Education representatives on the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education. He was then Director of Curriculum. Dr. Torgunrud remained on the Advisory Committee until he was replaced by Dr. Hastings in November 1972.

12.6.2 Input According to Phases

Dr. Torgunrud's main contribution to the policy development process, which led to ECS, appears to have been at the forecasting phase through his participation in the N-12 Task Force and the Minister's Advisory Committee.

In addition to his input as a member of the Minister's Advisory Committee which may be categorised in other phases, (this is discussed in a further section), Dr. Torgunrud apparently discussed Operational Plans with Dr. Hastings as it was being drafted and may thereby have had indirect input into the planning phase.

12.6.3 Position on Basic Issues

12.6.3.1 Program or No Program

Dr. Torgunrud was in favour of an early childhood program.

12.6.3.2 Governance

In the Minister's Advisory Committee, Dr. Torgunrud spoke strongly in favour of interdepartmental involvement in an early childhood program. He supported the arrangement whereby ECS was administered through the Department of Education under the guidance of a Coordinating Council.

12.6.3.3 Nature of Program

Dr. Torgunrud was a proponent of a broad-based, integrated early childhood program. He stressed that the program should be a complement to the home and not a substitute for parents who were too busy at other things to look after the development of their children.

12.6.3.4 Scope

Universal availability and selective experience according to need, were supported.

12.6.3.5 Sponsorship

Dr. Torgunrud appeared to support variable sponsorship of early childhood programs.

12.6.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The positions expressed by Dr. Torgunrud, particularly concerning interdepartmental coordination and the integrated program, were found in ECS.

12.6.5 Leverage

12.6.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue appeared to be highly relevant for Dr. Torgunrud.

12.6.5.2 Resources

Participation in the N-12 Task Force and on the Minister's Advisory Committee gave Dr. Torgunrud important opportunities to express his views on early childhood education and to cultivate a relationship of reciprocal support from people like Dr.

M. Horowitz.

As the Director of Curriculum in the Department of Education, Dr. Torgunrud's views appeared to carry a fair amount of leverage.

12.6.5.3 Efficacy

Whin the constraints inherent in his role as a civil servant, Dr. Torgunrud appeared to have made effective utilization of the resources available to him to promote his views on early childhood education.

12.7 Mr. L. Ledgerwood

Mr. Ledgerwood's contribution, in the form of a paper outlining principles of a systems approach for implementing ECS in Alberta, can best be categorised as belonging to the forecasting phase. It was utilized almost unaltered, however, as an important part of the document which emerged from the planning phase. This contribution was very important and the leverage which Mr. Ledgerwood may have exercised through this paper is attributable to the specific expertise of its contents corresponding to a precise need.

12.8 Mrs. P. Shanahan

Mrs. Shanahan's involvement with the policy development process leading to ECS, was primarily through her participation as a Department of Education representative on the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education. She also assisted Dr. Hastings to some extent by reacting to certain sections of Operational Plans as it was being drafted.

Finally Mrs. Shanahan authored a brief paper outlining alternative models for the structure of a possible provincial early childhood program. This paper was appended to the Recommendations prepared by the Minister's Advisory Committee "Working Subcommittee", of which Mrs. Shanahan was a member, and may have had some bearing on the choice of the organizational structure for ECS.

13. Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE

13.1 Summary of Involvement

The Department of Education Kindergarten Committee was formed in 1963, to prepare the Kindergarten Manual.

Although there were a few widely interspaced meetings after that, it was not until 1968 that the committee was truly reactivated, when the wish was expressed to revise the Kindergarten Manual.

Through Mr. K. Bride, the ATA representative on the Kindergarten Committee at that time, the Chairman, Dr. Church, sought the assistance of the newly-formed ATA ECE Council Curriculum Committee to conduct an evaluation of the

Kindergarten Manual. As a result of this evaluation it was decided to replace the Kindergarten Manual with a new curriculum guide rather than revising it.

At around that time, the Committee succeeded in obtaining a modification to the Kindergarten Regulations section pertaining to teacher qualifications, but its request for the appointment of a Coordinator of Kindergartens was rejected.

After some preliminary work on the production of a curriculum guide had been completed in early 1970 it was learned that no funds were available for a curriculum guide or even for the functioning of the Kindergarten Committee.

In the spring of 1971, after approximately one year without a meeting, the Early Childhood Education Committee (as the Kindergarten Committee was now called) was convened at the insistance of Sheila Campbell who was now a member of the committee by virtue of being Chairman of the ATA ECE Council Curriculum Committee.

At this meeting the Chairman, Dr. Church, explained that a request had been made to the Minister to grant the committee official status by making it his advisory committee on early childhood education. An ad hoc committee including Dr. Horowitz was established to draw up terms of reference for the expected advisory committee.

Some two weeks later in mid-May 1971, the members were advised by letter that the Minister and the Cabinet, not wishing to commit themselves to a policy of kindergarten support at that time, had decided to disband the Committee.

Two months later, just prior to the provincial general election and following an expression of concern by the ATA Provincial Executive Council over the disbanding of the committee, the Minister approved the formation of an Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education. The major education interest groups, the ATA, ASTA and AFHSA, and Universities were asked to name representatives to it.

Members named to this committee all had an interest in, and a commitment to, the establishment of a provincial early childhood education program. The Department of Education and the ATA were the most strongly represented on the committee. The University representatives, Dr. King and Dr. Horowitz, both had multiple affiliations: they were especially active in the ATA ECE Council and OMEP (Canadian Committee on ECE).

The committee was first convened in mid-January, some four months after the new government took office.

While terms of reference were discussed at this first meeting, the role of the committee was not clear and it was known that the government would probably not make a commitment on an early childhood program until the "Worth Report" had been released.

The Committee began its work by establishing a subcommittee to take stock of the current state of affairs in early childhood programs in Alberta and to prepare a "baseline report."

Next the committee adopted the Horowitz paper, An Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education, as the basis from which a "working committee" was to develop a set of recommendations. In May the recommendations were reviewed, and approved by the Advisory Committee for transmission to the Minister. While the recommendations were quite brief and not accompanied by an extensive rationale to support or explain them, they did confirm the need for a government role in early childhood programs.

The committee called for the immediate appointment of a Coordinator of Early Childhood programs, and for the funding of several pilot projects to test alternative models, with special emphasis to be placed on an integrated approach. This would preclude for the next two or three years, the endorsement of universal kindergartens. It was also recommended that over the next two or three years a provincial Office of Early Childhood Development, along with an advisory committee to it, be instituted.

When the Committee met again late November 1972, the "Worth Report" had been released and Downey's policy paper Opportunities for Infants had been tabled in the Legislature. The public-at-large was apparently better informed (through the press) about what was happening, than was the Minister's Advisory Committee.

It was only after some insistence on the part of a vocal member of the Advisory Committee, that the Chairman consented to call the Minister, and repeat the Committee's request to meet with him. Members wished to be informed of what was going on and also to obtain some feedback on the Committee's recommendations.

When the Minister arrived at the meeting, he apparently had in mind a fairly clear role for the committee to play. Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Hastings also attended the meeting, and it became apparent from statements made by the Minister, and the general atmosphere which surrounded the discussions, that a program was going to be developed.

It was probably more than mere coincidence that the Advisory Committee came around to adopting a motion calling for the appointment of a senior Department of Education official to coordinate early childhood activities and give leadership to this field. (It was not known that Dr. Hastings had already been appointed). Similarly the appointment of Dr. Hastings to a subcommittee to draft a policy statement, when he had in fact begun to do that over a month before, also appears to have been more than mere coincidence. Finally at that November meeting the Committee gave its agreement generally to the strategies for action put forward in the Downey paper.

At the next meeting in January 1973, with the Minister again in attendance, the Advisory Committee reviewed the first official draft of Operational Plans. It was in this role that the Committee probably served its most useful purpose. Members of the Committee, representing the major education interest groups, had the opportunity to examine and react to the ECS program. The ATA appears to have taken advantage of this opportunity to a greater extent than the other groups involved. Nonetheless the fact that the opportunity was afforded interest groups, through its members on the Minister's Advisory Committee, to provide input at that critical stage of the development of the ECS policies, appears to be of considerable importance in the process under study.

At the final meeting, just a few days before the program was announced, the Committee spent a good part of their time examining a paper prepared for the ASTA by Mrs. Joyce Krysowaty.

The Krysowaty paper was possibly the only document circulated among the participants in the policy development process, which reviewed the early childhood pilot and innovative projects carried out in Alberta, and attempted to draw from them information which could be utilized in the design of a province-wide program.

The Krysowaty paper lent important support to an "integrated approach", essentially similar to that being proposed for the ECS Program. The ASTA backing was undoubtedly very valuable to the government at that time, but the paper also served, intentionally or not, to draw attention away from the second official draft of Operational Plans. Apparently the Minister was ready to go with the program as it stood, and preferred not to have to make any modifications at that stage. In fact the Minister had asked, since he himself could not attend the meeting, that either the Deputy or the Associate Deputy Minister be in attendance to ensure that no important point in the program would be strongly opposed. Mr. Hyndman realized however, that support from the Committee members would be needed after the announcement of the program, and was therefore prepared to make last minute accommodations if really necessary. Interestingly the Advisory Committee did not have very much time to study the second official draft: copies were distributed at the meeting and collected immediately afterward.

13.2 Input According to Phases

The Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education, through its Recommendations appears to have contributed primarily to the forecasting phase of the policy development process.

By reacting to the official drafts of the Operational Plans, the Advisory Committee may have contributed, albeit in an indirect manner, to the planning phase as well.

13.3 Position on Basic Issues

13.3.1 Program or No Program

The Minister's Advisory Committee favoured an early childhood program.

13.3.2 Governance

In its Recommendations in May 1972, the Committee favoured public funding and government involvement in an early childhood program through an Office of Early Childhood Development (probably independent from the Department of Education). In reviewing the first draft of Operational Plans however, the alternative placing the ECS Directorate under the Department of Education was endorsed.

13.3.3 Nature of Program

A broad-based integrated program was advocated.

13.3.4 Scope

The program envisaged by the Advisory Committee would eventually have been universally available to children from ages three to six years.

13.3.5 Sponsorship

The Minister's Advisory Committee favoured sponsorship by a variety of agencies.

13.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

Since the Committee endorsed the Operational Plans generally, it can be said that that the final outcome was highly compatible with the Committee's position.

13.5 Leverage

13.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue was of the highest relevance for the Minister's Advisory Committee, being the reason for the committee's existence.

13.5.2 Resources

Being an advisory committee to the Minister, it was in a special position with respect to being heard on the issue.

Potentially, through coalitions between the associations represented, the Committee might have drawn on the joint resources of those groups to wield considerable leverage.

No such thing occurred however and it seems that members generally (except for the ATA representative) tended to function quite independently of their respective associations.

Moreover, it appears that the Committee was generally low-keyed and docile. Its main resources were probably the genuine concern of the members for interests of young children, and the harmonious working relationship developed among them, which enabled the members to function effectively as a panel of reactors for the drafts of Operational Plans.

13.5.3 Efficacy

The Minister's Advisory Committee, especially when reacting to drafts of Operational Plans, appears to have been functioning at fairly high level of efficacy.

14. Department of Health and Social Development

14.1 Summary of Involvement

In 1966, the Preventive Social Services Act was passed, which allowed for the establishment and funding of "preventative preschool programs" for culturally deprived children.[391] Although the Calgary Public School Board was able to obtain funding through this legislation for some experimental preschool classes for one year,[392] the major result of the PSS Act was the establishment of a number of Parent-Child Development Centres throughout the Province.[393]

In the summer of 1969, the provincial government decided to look into the possible termination of its support for the"parent-child programs" because of concern raised in some quarters that certain projects belonged more appropriately to Education. After a meeting involving interested parties, it was agreed that funding would be continued but that more emphasis would be placed on "total child-parent-family growth" rather than on academic learning.[394]

In August 1970, there were some fifty Parent-Child Development programs operating in Alberta involving approximately 1,500 children.[395]

In February 1971 EPSB Supervisor of Curriculum Mr. E. Bliss suggested to the Parent's Advisory Committee for Project Tenderness that the Department of Social Development paper, entitled Parent-Child Development Through a Pre-School Project might provide a very useful pattern for the Advisory Committee to follow.[396]

By the time of the provincial general elections in August 1971, the Department of Health and Social Development had engaged itself in participating in two preschool projects operated by the Department of Education through Innovative Projects. These projects were CECEP, and the High Prairie Early Childhood Development Through Use of Environmental Control Centres.

In November, 1972 when Dr. Hastings had begun work on Operational Plans, Mr. M. Finlay, Assistant Director of Preventive Social Services with the Department of Health and Social Development was assigned to collaborate with Dr. Hastings in order to ensure input from the Department of Health and Social Development into the planning of ECS. Mr. Finlay's main involvement in this regard was to informally react to the official drafts of Operational Plans, and to report informally to his Deputy Minister.[397]

While there was no formal Departmental position to guide Mr. Finlay's inputs, he attempted to ensure that:

- the program would not duplicate what the Department of Health and Social Development was doing;
- an examination would be made of the Department of Health and Social Development experience in the pre-school field;
- he would become better informed of upcoming developments in the Department of Education which might have implications for the Department of Health and Social Development. 398

At the Cabinet level, the Minister of Health and Social Development, Neil Crawford had assured Mr. Hyndman of the collaboration of his Department, while at the Deputy Ministerial level two meetings were held (one in December 1972 and another at the end of January 1973) at which ECS related matters were discussed.

14.2 Input According to Phases

Through its Parent-Child Development programs, the Department of Health and Social Development contributed mainly to the forecasting phase of the policy development process.

Through Mr. Finlay's exchanges with Dr. Hastings regarding drafts of Operational Plans, input was made at the planning phase.

At the decision-making phase there was direct participation by the Minister, Mr. Crawford.

14.3 Position on Basic Issues

14.3.1 Program or No Program

The Department of Health and Social Development favoured an early childhood program.

14.3.2 Governance

The official position (as put forward by the Minister) was supportive of interdepartmental involvement in the early childhood program, through a Coordinating Council, and administration of the program through the Department of Education.[399]

14.3.3 Nature of Program

The Department of Health and Social Development agreed with the broad-based integrated program.

14.3.4 Scope

It appears that a selective program for disadvantaged children was favoured as the top priority, then, the possibility of a universally available program for "normal children" beginning with the five-year-olds.

14.3.5 Sponsorship

The Department of Health and Social Development, through Mr. Finlay, adopted a very strong stance on parental involvement. An arrangement similar to that of the Parent-Child Development programs to ensure parental involvement was favoured, in preference to having the programs sponsored and operated through school boards.

14.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The position held by the Department of Health and Social Development as manifested by the Minister Mr. Crawford and Mr. Finlay, was highly compatible with ECS.

In the area of parental involvement, it appears that the strong position adopted by the Department of Health and Social Development may have contributed to making parental involvement in the program at the local level, a condition of funding under ECS non-school board operations.

14.5 Leverage

14.5.1 Issue Relevance

As evidenced by the extent of involvement of the Department of Health and Social Development in early childhood programs, particularly through their Parent-Child Development programs, it appears that the issue had a fairly high degree of relevance for that Department.

14.5.2 Resources

As a Government Department, considerable potential resources were available.

14.5.3 Efficacy

The support given the program at the Cabinet level by the Minister of Health and Social Development made ECS possible. Participation by the Department of Health and Social Development, while not intensive,was crucial to ECS. Its participation therefore can be viewed as having had a high level of efficacy with much positive leverage being exercised.

15. Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation

15.1 Summary of Involvement

The Department of Youth, created in 1966, became involved in preschool projects through its Alberta Service Corps. Under this program, university students were employed during the summer to operate Head Start-type "kindergartens" in underpriviledged communities, mainly in remote native settlements.

Along with the Department of Health and Social Development, but to a much lesser extent, the Department of Youth (which became the Youth Branch of the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation in 1971) participated in two preschool Innovative Projects. In the High Prairie, Early Childhood Development Through Use of Environmental Control Centres, an evaluation of the affective dimension of the program was conducted by Gloria Siperko of the Youth Branch. In CECEP, Mr. Burn Evans became involved in an informal, semi-official consultant role until he was appointed Assistant Director of the Youth Services Branch and was replaced by Gloria Siperko.

After Cabinet had given its approval in principle to the ECS program and the Minister of Culture, Youth and Recreation H. Schmidt had agreed to have his Department collaborate, Mr. B. Evans was assigned to assist Dr. Hastings in drafting Operational Plans.

In addition, two meetings were held among the Deputy Ministers of the Departments involved, to further discuss the collaboration agreed upon at the ministerial level.

In January 1973, Mr. Schmidt intervened to prevent three PCKA kindergartens from closing by arranging financial assistance for them.

The Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation did not formulate a formal position on specific early childhood program issues and hence no clear direction was available to Mr. Evans to guide his input into the ECS policy document. Mr. Evans described his role as having been that of a critic and editor to some degree, and one of pointing out the kinds of interests that his Department would have. He did not, however, expect the program to materialize as soon as it did, and felt that to some extent, his Department's participation in the ECS policy development process had been token.[400]

15.2 Input According to Phases

The main input from the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation was at the planning phase through Mr. B. Evans' interaction with Dr. Hastings regarding drafts of Operational Plans.

15.3 Position on Basic Issues

15.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome

The position of the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation was essentially a global one deriving from Mr. Schmidt's support of ECS in Cabinet but no specific position was stated pertaining to the particular basic issues. The position, therefore, is seen as being identical to the ECS position reflecting Government solidarity regarding the program.

15.5 Leverage

15.5.1 Issue Relevance

The early childhood issue does not appear to have been one having particularly high relevance for the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation.

15.5.2 Resources

As a Government Department, it had considerable resources but probably fewer than the Department of Education or the Department of Health and Social Development.

15.5.3 Efficacy

Probably in part because of some internal communication difficulties between the Deputy Minister and Mr. B. Evans regarding the nature of the input to be made, the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation does not appear to have functioned with a high degree of efficacy, nor does it appear to have exercised much leverage, in the ECS policy development process.

16. Harald Gunderson

16.1 Summary of Involvement

Mr. Gunderson was first elected as a Calgary Public School trustee in 1966. One of the key points of his election platform was the introduction of kindergartens throughout the City of Calgary and, if necessary, throughout Alberta.

During this first term of office, he did a complete about-face on his election promise, and with fellow CPSB trustee Dr. Higgins, adopted a strong stance in opposition to universal kindergartens for five-year-olds.[401]

In 1967 a few weeks prior to the ASTA convention at which the kindergarten question was to come up, Mr. Gunderson wrote an article for the Calgary Albertan in which he stated his opposition to the "kindergarten bandwagon". At the ASTA Convention he led the attack which resulted in the defeat of a resolution calling for School Foundation Program Fund support, for children under six years of age, enrolled in a school readiness program.

In April 1968, Mr. Gunderson was the one to publicly oppose a call for province-wide kindergartens made in the Legislature by a Liberal MLA. A month later he denounced as "irresponsible" an Alberta Chamber of Commerce resolution asking the provincial government to assist with the establishment of kindergartens.

In June of 1970 at the Banff Trustee Short Course and Seminar at which early childhood education was debated, Mr. Gunderson confronted the keynote speaker Dr. Horowitz, in a heated debate.

In the fall of 1971 Mr. Gunderson was elected as President of the ASTA. Following the Special General Meeting of the ASTA called by Mr. Gunderson in June 1972, he had a questionnaire sent to every school board in the province so that the ASTA might, in compliance with a request from the Minister of Education, Lou Hyndman, indicate to the Minister what the trustees' priorities were.

In a news release in mid-August, Mr. Gunderson stated that surprisingly, the survey had not revealed strong support for kindergartens. He failed to indicate however, that returns on the survey were very low and that some of the large urban school districts had not responded.

In mid-October, after the final edition of the ASTA reaction to the "Worth Report", A Choice of Choices had been accepted by the Executive and presented to the Cabinet Committee on Education, Mr. Gunderson made some changes which substantially altered the meaning and intent of the text, specifically regarding early childhood education. The ASTA Education Council reacted strongly and had the text amended.[402]

At the 1972 ASTA convention, in early November President Harald Gunderson in his address to the delegates, strongly attacked the "Worth Report" and in particular its recommendations on early childhood education. In late November, following the tabling of the Downey policy paper in the Legislature, he wrote a relatively lengthy article strongly stating his opposition to universal kindergartens. This article was carried in some form by the three largest Alberta newspapers, and was intended to launch a public debate on the matter of kindergartens. The debate was referred to as "useful" by the Minister of Education.[403]

In January 1973, following a meeting with the provincial Cabinet a few days earlier, Mr. Gunderson stated that the kindergarten debate was nothing but a "red herring", and that universal kindergartens were not in prospect because of their unproven value. He further stated that the ASTA was not in favour of kindergartens but that it agreed with government plans to provide preschool training for children with various learning disabilities.

16.2 Input According to Phases

Mr. Gunderson's contribution to the ECS policy development process appears to have been mainly at the forecasting phase, but with some impact at the decision-making phase.

16.3 Position on Basic Issues

16.3.1 Program or No Program

Mr. Gunderson was the champion and spokesman for those who were opposed to an early childhood program. More specifically, he was strongly opposed to universal kindergartens but he did in the end state his support for certain aspects of ECS.

Because his contribution was overwhelmingly one of opposition to an early childhood program, the other basic issues apparently did not arise to any great extent.

16.3.2 Governance

The type of program which Mr. Gunderson was prepared to accept would be funded by the Government probably through the Department of Education. This issue was not specifically addressed by Mr. Gunderson, however.

16.3.3 Nature of Program

Mr. Gunderson's clear preference was for no program but he did lend his support to a "special education" type of program for handicapped children.

16.3.4 Scope

The special education program for young children with learning disabilities, with which Mr. Gunderson agreed, would have included between ten and fifteen percent of all children in the preschool category. He was definitely opposed to a universal program.

16.3.5 Sponsorship

While Mr. Gunderson did not address this topic specifically, it appears that he favoured the involvement of school boards in the operation of the limited "special education" type program which he was prepared to support.

16.4 Compatibility of Position with Outcome:

On the question of universal kindergartens Mr. Gunderson won his fight insofar as ECS did not bring about the immediate implementation of such a program and in fact placed higher priorities on programs for disadvantaged children.

Mr. Gunderson did acknowledge however that ECS may have established a mechanism for phasing what will amount to a universal kindergarten program, and from that viewpoint, his position would be incompatible with the outcome.[404]

16.5 Leverage

16.5.1 Issue Relevance

It appears that the issue was relevant enough for Mr. Gunderson to merit mounting a strong opposition to it for some six years.

16.5.2 Resources

Mr. Gunderson was the unofficial spokesman for all who opposed universal kindergartens. As President of the Alberta School Trustees' Association he often seemed to benefit from its resources, despite the fact that many times he was speaking on his own behalf rather than on behalf of the ASTA.

16.5.3 Efficacy

Mr. Gunderson was viewed as a shrewed politician and a highly persuasive orator. He probably was responsible to some extent for the ASTA being so deeply divided on the early childhood issue and also for the Calgary Public School Board's slow movement in that regard. Because of the leverage which he exerted on these two important groups it appears that he may have been partly responsible for delaying the advent of an early childhood program in Alberta.

Summary and Commentary

In this chapter, the basic issues have been identified and defined, then input relative to those issues by major participants in the ECS policy development process, has been summarized and analyzed. The overall contribution by participants generally will now be summarized, and a brief commentary will be included.

Input According to Phases

Antecedents

Since the policy development process proper is deemed to have begun with the coming to power of the Progressive Conservative Government in Alberta in August of 1971, the events which were completed before that time, and are viewed as important, are considered as "antecedents", rather than as belonging to the particular phases of the policy process referred to in this study.

It should be noted that there is some overlapping, and events being classified as antecedents may also have contributed to the forecasting phase, for example.

The following are judged to have been important antecedents to the ECS policy development process:

- The 1962 Order in Council transferring jurisdiction of private kindergartens from the Department of Welfare to the Department of Education.
- Worth's Before Six: A Report on the Alberta Early Childhood Education Study presented to the 1966 ASTA annual convention.
- The formation of the ATA Early Childhood Education Council in 1966.
- Pro-kindergarten briefs by the ATA, the ASTA and the AFHSA from 1967 to 1971.
- The establishment of experimental preschool classes for underpriviledged children by the CPSB (1966) and the EPSB (1968).
- The Department of Health and Social Development, Parent-Child Development program.
- The CEP public involvement activities.
- Dr. Church's Position Paper on Early Childhood Education.
- The formation of the ASTA Education Council in 1970.
- Efforts by the Department of Education Kindergarten Committee to bring about changes in the Kindergarten Regulations and the subsequent formation of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education.
- The OMEP brief to CEP entitled Education for the Eighties.
- The Inner City Core Preschool Pilot Project in Calgary and Edmonton.
- The Funding of early childhood experimental projects through Innovative Projects Fund.

Forecasting Phase

In the forecasting phase, as defined earlier, intellectively constructed models of possible futures, are generated. In other words, alternatives are produced pertaining to basic issues.

The major contributions to this phase appear to have been:

- The ATA Early Childhood Education Council Position Paper in September 1971.
- The CECEP and Early Childhood Development Through Environmental Control Centres Innovative Projects, involving interdepartmental cooperation.
- The Horowitz paper entitled An Integrated Approach to Early Childhood Education prepared for the ASTA in November 1971.
- The Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education, Recommendations, in May 1971.
- The "Worth Report" in June 1971.
- Reactions from major interest groups to the Worth Report.
- Watts et al. An Early Childhood Education Pilot Project in Calgary and Edmonton, August 1972.
- Downey's Opportunities for Infants parts I and II November 1972.
- The Ledgerwood paper A Proposal Regarding the Systematic Implementation of Early Childhood Services in the Province of Alberta. November 1972.
- The Gunderson article in Calgary Albertan and Edmonton Journal in late November 1972.
- The Krysowaty paper The Integrated Services Approach to Early Childhood Education, prepared for the ASTA. November 1972.

Planning Phase

Referring to our earlier definition, planning deals with systems design. From the multitude of inputs provided at the forecasting phase and taking into account some directions established by certain antecedents, a plausible and feasible system was constructed.

Direct involvement in this phase appears to have been limited to the Minister, the Deputy Minister, the Associate Deputy Minister, and Dr. Hastings, who was principally responsible for drafting Operational Plans. In another aspect of planning Dr. Downey's Opportunities for Infants outlined strategies for Government action.

Concerning the planning of an organizational structure within the Department of Education to deliver Early Childhood Services specifically, the discussion paper by Hrabi and Hill appears to have been an important contribution.

In an indirect manner, individuals and groups, in particular the Minister's Advisory Committee, which reacted to drafts of Operational Plans and Opportunities for Infants, may be considered as also having been involved at the planning phase.

Decision-Making Phase

The decision-making phase was earlier defined as dealing with the recognition, in a normative way, of a preferred system design. The responsibility for making the major decisions pertaining to the basic policies constituting that system, rested exclusively with the Government, particularly the Minister of Education and Cabinet. In making these decisions however, they considered the advice of their top civil servants involved in that issue and also the recommendations contained in various reports and briefs.

Position on Basic Issues

1. Program or No Program

There was a fairly general consensus among participants regarding the desire to have an early childhood program. The notable exception of course was Harald Gunderson, but even he in the end, indicated that he was in agreement with a limited kind of program.

There were differences however in the strength of support on this issue and also in the consistency of the support accorded by participants. The ASTA for example, despite the expression of support appearing in its annual briefs to the Government for an early childhood program, was known to be deeply divided on the issue and the ASTA President Harald Gunderson campaigned openly against it. The Minister's Advisory Committee, on the other hand, was very strongly in favour of a program.

Regarding the consistency of support on this issue, the positions of the Edmonton Journal illustrate a shift from strong support of universal kindergartens, to non-support of universal kindergartens and moderate support for a compensatory-type program.

2. Governance

There were essentially three positions on this issue: the first, favouring exclusive Department of Education jurisdiction of the early childhood program, the second preferring interdepartmental involvement under an autonomous unit of government, and a third position calling for interdepartmental involvement through a Coordinating Council while the administration of the program would remain under the Department of Education.

The first position was widespread prior to the submission of the OMEP brief to the CEP in mid-1970. It was retained mainly by the Home and School groups, and the PCKA but also appeared to be preferred by the ATA (though not by the ATA ECE Council).

The second position calling for an autonomous government unit, was introduced by the OMEP brief to the CEP and was favoured by Dr. Horowitz and the AAYC. Moreover the Minister's Advisory Committee and to some extent the ATA ECE Council also appeared to be leaning in this direction (probably due, in part at least, to the leverage exercised by Dr. Horowitz).

The third position was a compromise solution presented by the Government through Operational Plans, was acceptable to the Minister's Advisory Committee, and was not challenged by the other participants.

3. Nature of Program

Until the OMEP brief to the CEP and the publication of the ATA ECE Council's Position Paper on Early Childhood Education, the prevailing conceptualization of the nature of the early childhood program was that of an academic, readiness-type kindergarten. With the OMEP brief, the health and social dimensions of such a program were also stressed, and later the ATA ECE Council's Position Paper further defined the broad-based nature of an early childhood education program. 3

In Opportunities for Infants, Downey interprets the "public"'s wish in general as seeking a universal kindergarten program. This interpretation appears to have been supported by the fact that the PCKA specifically called for kindergartens, and that on the other hand, neither the PCKA nor the Home and School Associations advocated the broad-based approach.

The education and social services professionals were generally supportive of the broad-based concept and there appears to have been a conscious effort to put it into practice in the large school districts' experimental classes.

Since the broad-based, integrated approach was the one favoured by Government, and supported by the"Worth Report", the Downey policy paper and the Minister's Advisory Committee, the general public's expectations regarding a kindergarten program, had to be modified. This was accomplished mainly through public statements made by the Minister especially following the tabling of the Downey policy paper in the Legislature. Furthermore, it appears that the "press debate" launched by Mr. Gunderson in opposition to kindergartens, may also have assisted in changing the public's expectations for a universal kindergarten program.

4. Scope

Discussion regarding the scope of the early childhood program was mainly in terms of a universal program, as opposed to a selective and limited program. Because of the direct relationship between the scope of the program and its cost, those opposing a universal program did so primarily because of the extremely high cost involved in terms of financial, human and physical resources. In fact the cost argument appears to have been the most often used in opposition to an early childhood program generally.

Aside from the question of cost, another reason given for opposing a universal program, was that it was unnecessary, and therefore a waste. Interestingly, when experimental classes were established by the school districts to serve only certain areas however, the reaction was "immediate and irrisistible"; parents from other areas wanted a program as well, on the basis of equality of opportunity for their children.

The point of agreement between the participants who favoured a universal program and those who favoured a restricted, selective program, was in the need to assign priority to handicapped and disadvantaged children in an early childhood program. The Government capitalized on this consensus to devise a means of phasing the program according to categories of need, thereby keeping costs relatively low. Furthermore, the ECS program preserved the universal opportunity concept within prioritized categories of need, but left the initiative for involvement in the program as well as the responsibility for demonstrating need, with parents or school boards at the local level. The Request for Proposal scheme was adopted to regulate this process.

5. Sponsorship

The idea of variable sponsorship of programs at the local level, as opposed to exclusive school board sponsorship, was piloted through the Inglewood Community Inner City Core Preschool Pilot Project in Calgary and was favourably viewed by Watts et al, in their evaluation of the project. In addition, Dr. Horowitz pressed for variable sponsorship through OMEP, the ATA ECE Council and the Minister's Advisory Committee, but perhaps the strongest support came from the "Worth Report".

Among those opposed to the variable sponsorship idea were notably, the ATA and the PCKA.

Compatibility of Positions with Outcome

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the ECS basic policies generally is their high degree of compatibility with the major positions of key participants, while at the same time incorporating the basic new orientations which the Government wished to see in its early childhood program.

This appears to have been made possible to a large extent because of the comprehensiveness of the program and

and his flexibility.

Leverage

The participants which appear to have exercised the most leverage in the policy development process leading to ECS can be classified into government and non-government participants.

Within Government, and by far the participant who exercised the most leverage in this process was the Minister of Education Lou Hyndman. He, along with Cabinet carried the ultimate responsibility for the introduction of the ECS program. This leverage was exercised primarily at the decision-making phase. In the Department of Education, the Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. Hawkesworth, exercised considerable leverage at the planning phase. Likewise on the issue of governance particularly, the Associate Deputy Minister Dr. Hrabi seems to have exercised important leverage. Dr. Hastings who authored Operational Plans, also appears to have exercised substantial leverage at that phase.

Among the non-government participants, Dr. Worth, mainly through the "Worth Report" exercised considerable leverage at the forecasting phase. In a different way but also mainly at the forecasting phase, Dr. Horowitz undoubtedly ranks high among the participants who appear to have exercised the most leverage in shaping and in causing ECS to come about.

Chapter VII

ANALYSIS OF PROCESS

In this chapter, research problem #3, relative to the dynamics of the policy development process, will be answered by reviewing its five sub-problems.

Sub-Problem 3.1:

> "How did the deliberations originate and by whom were they initiated?"

As previously mentioned, the policy process proper which led in a fairly direct way to ECS in Alberta, is deemed to have originated with the coming to power of the Progressive Conservative Government, following the August 1971 provincial general elections.

Supporting this interpretation, the Social Credit Minister of Education prior to the elections, Robert Clark, stated: "The basic decision to go with some form of an early childhood services program was made by Albertans on August 31st." [405]

Certainly, a number of events referred to as "antecedents" in the previous chapter, had an important bearing on the course of policy development which led to ECS, but until the new government took office there was no expressed deliberate intent to develop an early childhood program.

This intent, stated in the Progressive Conservative election platform and supported by a widespread public expectation for action, was confirmed soon after the election by the new Minister of Education Lou Hyndman, and the new Minister of Health and Social Development, Neil Crawford, at an OMEP (Canadian Committee on Early Childhood) conference.

Within the Department of Education, the Minister initiated the formal policy development process by directing the Deputy Minister to pursue a deliberate policy of planning regarding an early childhood program.

Sub-Problem 3.2:

> "What was the format of the deliberations and what procedures were followed during their course?"

During the fall of 1971, the Government spent some time getting acquainted with its new role. The Minister, having publicly indicated his intention to take action regarding an early childhood program during the term of his mandate, received briefs from major education interest groups, in particular the ATA and ASTA, and also reviewed the role of the Advisory Committee on ECE. In early 1972 the Minister's Advisory Committee, with representation from the major education interest groups, was activated.

The next important step came following the release of the "Worth Report" at which time interested parties were invited to submit their reactions to the Government. This provided an opportunity for individuals and groups interested in early childhood education to provide input by expressing their views on the Worth early childhood education recommendations. This was also done within the Department of Education.

In October 1972, Dr. Hastings sought further input from a few individuals in drafting Operational Plans.

Participation at this stage was mainly through meetings of the Minister's Advisory Committee, at which, drafts of the proposed policies were reviewed.

Essentially the procedures for participating in the deliberations pertaining to the development of the ECS policies were to submit briefs to the government and/or to work through the Minister's Advisory Committee.

Sub-Problem 3.3:

> "What decision points in the deliberations were judged to be crucial?"

There appears to have been a crucial decision point following the review of reactions to the "Worth Report". At that time the Cabinet Committee on Education had to make a recommendation to Cabinet on the early childhood program question. Furthermore, a commitment had been made earlier by a group of MLAs attending a PCKA meeting, to come up with "a clear and unequivocal" statement on the matter at the Fall Session of the Legislature.

Another crucial decision point was the acceptance by Cabinet of the general directions for Government action suggested by the Downey policy paper.

Finally, the approval of the ECS program as described in Operational Plans appears to have been a crucial decision point.

Sub-Problem 3.4:

> "To what extent did the course of the deliberative process appear to have been influenced by research data available, perceived manifest leverage of participants and by outside situational factors?"

Generally the policy development process appears to have been based on an identified need, the expression of widespread support for an early childhood program and a growing body of professional literature underlining the cruciality of the early years in child development.

The leverage of participants appears to have been important in the ECS policy development process mainly in the sense that without the support of either the ATA or the ASTA it appears unlikely that the Government would have proceeded with the ECS program as it stood,and at that time. Another use of leverage was also apparent in the actions that the Government took unilaterally then obtained assent from an unsuspecting Minister's Advisory Committee.

Finally, outside situational factors such as the working-mother phenomenon, the decreasing enrolments in elementary grades and the resulting availability of classrooms and teachers, undoubtedly played an important role in the development of the ECS program.

Sub-Problem 3.5:

> "What coalitions among participants evolved and how did these affect the development of the policy issues?"

The only coalition apparent in this policy process, took place in Cabinet among the Ministers of Education, Health and Social Development and Culture, Youth and Recreation who agreed to collaborate in the creation of ECS.

Among the non-government participants, while no formal coalitions took place, there was nonetheless a converging of views over a period of time, in large part no doubt, because of the overlapping membership phenomenon.

Summary and Commentary

The general observations which follow highlight some salient characteristics of the ECS policy development process which seem to be particularly significant.

The process appears to have been largely dominated by the Government; it started when the Government gave the signal and ended with the arrival of the Government deadline for announcement of the program. Furthermore, it was not a bargaining type of situation in which participants could expect accommodations and trade-offs as a result of the application of leverage. While it is true that the Government did solicit input and even provide a mechanism (the Minister's Advisory Committee) for on-going participation and interaction, it was completely free to accept, reject or ignore any input. It appeared clear to Mr. Gunderson (the unofficial, self-appointed spokesman for those opposing the program) that the Government had made up its mind concerning the introduction of an early childhood program and it was futile to try and fight it.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming leverage resting with the Government in this process, the Government did not as it had the power to do, dictate a program from above. Quite to the contrary, the Government chose to build upon the grassroots' involvement apparent in the CEP activities and in the community kindergartens in Edmonton and Calgary, and to encourage continued input from concerned individuals and groups. This was done primarily through the receiving of briefs in reaction to the"Worth Report". Furthermore, through the Minister's Advisory Committee, the major education interest groups concerned were given the opportunity to participate in shaping the basic directions for the early childhood program.

The Government did not put forward a well-defined position until the views of the major groups had been expressed. The Government's task in putting together a program which was acceptable to the key participants and at the same time incorporated the new directions which it wanted to pursue, was no doubt facilitated by the near consensus of views which appeared to emerge as a result of the interaction of the various representatives on the

Minister's Advisory Committee. In large measure, some of the members of the "professional educators community" spearheaded by University Faculty of Education people, were instrumental in selling the broad-based, integrated approach in early childhood education to both the Government, and to the key interest groups. It was this confluence of positions on basic issues which enabled the Government to create ECS in a relatively calm climate.

Furthermore, by involving representatives of the major interest groups right to the very end through the Minister's Advisory Committee, and by "trying out" on them the ideas contained in drafts of Operational Plans, it was possible for the Government to ensure that the program would likely be acceptable to the key groups, before a definite commitment was made to launch it.

CONCLUSION
AND
POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS
FOR PRACTICE

In this final section, some major observations which can be drawn from this research will be stated from the perspective of both the data reviewed and the approach used. Furthermore, some possible implications for practice will be suggested.

This research report examined an instance of the process of public policymaking in education. The key events associated with the development of the basic policies formulated to govern the Early Childhood Services Program in Alberta, were described and the process involved in the development of these policies was analyzed.

The analysis focussed on the interaction of participants and the context in which these occurred. It was conducted within the general framework of an expanded version of Jantsch's "Rational Creative Action" model.

It appears that the development of the ECS policies was a clear attempt at utilizing a systems approach as opposed to only an incremental one in public policy formation. It seems also to have been a conscious effort to be open-minded and not simply to develop policies which were a mirror-image of what was already available.

A notable phenomenon encountered in this study was the leadership role assumed by the professionals in education, in the educational policymaking process. While the power to institute the Early Childhood Services program in Alberta rested with and was exercised by the Government, the driving force, which marshalled the support required to cause the Government to take a particular type of action, has to be attributed to a large extent to some strongly committed education professionals. Their drive was spearheaded by a few key people associated with the Universities, who also held memberships in the major interest groups.

The involvement of several participants in the policy development process appears to have resulted in a broadening of perspective and vision of these actors. Consequently, the conceptualization of an early childhood program which emerged, seems to have been substantially richer than the original inputs of individual participants.

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the ECS basic policies development process generally is the high degree of compatibility attained with respect to the major positions of key participants. This was accomplished while at the same time incorporating the fundamental new orientations which the government wished to see in its early childhood program.

Regarding the approach utilized in this research it seems appropriate to review the conceptual framework applied, as well as the data gathering and interpretation procedures used.

The "Expanded Rational Creative Action" model developed in this thesis was felt to have provided a useful framework within which to conduct a retrospective study of the public policymaking process in education. The "Political System Process" dimension added to Jantsch's "Rational Creative Action" scheme did supply, in this researcher's view, a means of accounting to some extent for the "political" element observed in the instance of public policymaking which was studied.

As is apparently the case with other frameworks, the "Expanded Rational Creative Action" framework brought a certain order to the data, which made possible its analysis and interpretation but it seems that at the same time it also imposed constraints on the environment under study.

The usefulness of the case study method utilized, drawing on interview and documentory data and including a posteriori standardization of information through content analysis, was reinforced in this researcher's opinion. Combined with the Gergen Technique for the Assessment of Participant Leverage however, it does seem to focus primarily on the more "visible" participants or spokespersons and could as a result possibly lead to the attribution of insufficient importance to certain less "visible" participants.

Concerning some possible implications for practice it should be noted that while the commentaries presented below cannot, in a strict scientific sense, be said to derive from the study, they are nonetheless offered as the personal observations of this researcher in the hope that the knowledge gained might perhaps be of some assistance in professional practice.

With reference to government: the opportunity provided for grassroots input during the Commission on Educational Planning's hearings; the invitation extended to all interested individuals and groups, following the release of the "Worth Report", to react to the proposals on the early childhood issue contained in the report; the use of an advisory committee with representation from the major interest groups concerned; and the withholding of a definite government position on the issue until the major interest groups had expressed a position; all appear to have contributed to a fairly smooth development of the early childhood services policy. Globally, it appears to have been a judicious course of action to follow in those circumstances.

On the other hand, the lack of clear direction given to the Minister's Advisory Committee and the apparent manipulation of that Committee at one point, could have been severely dysfunctional. Also, it might have been desirable to explore some alternative models for early childhood programs through the use of several well monitored pilot projects, and perhaps even more important, to make more use of the information available from projects which had been operating in Alberta. Furthermore, the preparation of policy papers, and in particular the one by Downey, should have been allowed more time in order that the author might have examined the early childhood issue, in greater depth.

With reference to interest groups, it seems imperative that each group should have taken time to carefully study the issue at hand and should have defined an official unified position on the matter before making public statements about it and before appointing a member to represent them on an advisory group such as the Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education. Once a representative had been appointed it appears of paramount importance that close communication between that person and the group's executive should have been maintained so as to have provided the representative with definite guidelines during the course of the deliberations.

Also apparently important was the mobilization of public opinion in support of an interest group's position, getting through to the political decision-makers themselves and continuing to make representations until the government was irrevocably committed.

Finally it appears that the approach used by certain individuals in the policymaking process, which included obtaining membership in different interest groups and then encouraging those groups to make representations to the government to advocate a particular point of view, was quite fruitful.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It is suggested that the following areas might be potentially fruitful extensions of the present study:

- a replication study;
- the use of the Expanded Rational Creative Action framework to study other instances of public policy-making in education;
- the use of a different conceptual framework to study the development of the ECS basic policies;
- the refining of the Gergen Technique for the Assessment of Participant Leverage;
- the continuation of this study to include the implementation phase of ECS;
- the in-depth investigation of the development of positions on basic ECS policy issues within particular interest groups; and
- a further examination of the "multiple affiliation" or "cross membership" phenomenon in the formation of the basic ECS policies.

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APPENDIX I

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA)

Name	Date(s)
Bride, K., Dr.	June 3/76
Clarke, S.C.T., Dr.	May 3/76
Fotheringham, J., Mr.*	June 14/76
Ingram, E., Dr.	June 23/76
Keeler, B., Dr.*	June 2/76
Kleparchuck, H., Dr.(EPSB)*	June 9/76
Thain, J., Mrs.	July 23, 30/76

Alberta School Trustees' Association (ASTA)

Campbell, L., Mrs.(EPSB)*	July 15/76
Green, M., Mrs.(CSSB)*	June 7/76
Griffiths, A., Dr.*	May 27/76-June 18/76
Gunderson, H.,Mr.*	May 17/76
Rae, C., Mr.*	May 27/76-June 4/76
Tymko, L., Mr.	May 14/76
Williams, L., Dr.*	May 15/76

Alberta Federation of Home & School Associations(AFHSA)

Swann, J.P., Mr. (phone interview)	June 22/76
Westling, E., Mrs.	June 19/76

Alberta Association for Young Children (AAYC)

Campbell, S., Ms.* (U of A)	Aug.1/75 - May 20/76
Lacey, B., Dr.*	May 18/76

Parent Cooperative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton (PCKA)

Youck, B., Mrs.*	May 19/76

School Districts

Calgary Public School Board (CPSB)

Johnstone, J., Miss	June 7/76
Leadbeater, B., Mrs.	June 7/76

Edmonton Public School Board (EPSB)

Bliss, E., Mr.	June 16/76-June 21/76
Chernowski, K., Mrs.	June 16/76

Edmonton Separate School Board (ESSB)

Quinlan, P.I., Mr.	June 16/76
Therrien, K., Miss	June 2/76

Calgary Separate School Board (CSSB)

Van Tighem, J.V., Dr.	June 8/76

University of Alberta (Edmonton)

Affleck, M., Dr.	June 11/76
Everett, L., Miss	June 15/76
Horowitz, M., Dr.*	Aug. 11/75-Feb.27/76-May 19/76
Krysowaty, J., Mrs.	May 13/76
Worth, W., Dr.*	July 13/76

University of Calgary

King, E., Dr.*	Aug.7/75-May 17/76-June 8/76

Alberta Human Resources Research Council (AHRRC)

Downey, L.W., Dr.*	May 26/76-July 2/76
Pacey, R., Mr.	June 1/76

Department of Education

Byrne, T.C., Dr.*	July 28/76
Church, E.J.M., Dr.*	May 12/76
Hastings, I., Dr.*	Aug.5/75-May 25/76
Hawkesworth, E.K., Dr.*	Aug.13/76
Hrabi, J.S.T., Dr.*	May 21/76 - July 16/77
Ledgerwood, C.D., Dr.*	May 14/76
McDonald, E.G., Mr.	May 28/76
McKie, K.T., Mr.	May 31/76
Shanahan, P., Ms.*	May 12/76
Torgunrud, E.A., Dr.*	May 31/76
Stringham, B.L., Dr.	May 20/76

Government of Alberta

Clark, R., Hon.*	June 1 /76
Hyndman, L., Hon.*	June 10- June 17/76
McKinnon, R., Mr.*	May 7/76
Reierson, R., Mr.*	July 12/76

Department of Health and Social Development

Finlay, M., Mr.*	May 28/76

Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation

Evans, B., Mr.*	July 22/76

Edmonton Board of Health

Paddon, D., Ms.	May 11/76

*Interviews transcribed

APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE
OF
MAJOR EVENTS LEADING TO ECS IN ALBERTA

1. Early Beginnings:

   - 1900's (early): Alberta's first kindergarten (Lethbridge).
   - 1912: Kindergarten classes under Edmonton Public School Board (EPSB).
   - 1921: Kindergarten classes abandoned by EPSB.
   - 1939: "Tom Thumb" kindergarten opened in Calgary by Stagette Club.

2. Publicly-Funded Kindergartens in Calgary:

   - 1941: "Tom Thumb" kindergarten taken over by Calgary Public School Board (CPSB).
   - 1947: CPSB operating twelve kindergartens.
   - 1953: (Spring) Department of Education announces that grants being utilized for kindergartens by CPSB to be discontinued in September 1954.
   - 1953: Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations (AFHSA) passes resolution calling for kindergartens.
   - 1954: (Spring) CPSB announces decision to withdraw from operation of kindergartens.

3. Community Kindergarten Movement in Calgary:

   - 1954: (Fall) Community kindergartens, mainly under Home and School Associations, are established and receive consultative assistance from CPSB.

- 1959: Cameron Commission Report recommends that serious study be given to devise ways of incorporating kindergartens as an integral part of public schools.

- 1959: Community Kindergarten movement flourishing: (thriving on parental interest and initiative). There are thirty-one, serving slightly less than half of eligible children in Calgary.

- 1961: Edmonton Council of Home and School Associations recommend establishment of kindergartens to EPSB, or at least, help in setting up community kindergartens similar to those in Calgary.

- 1961: Amendment to Child Welfare Act transfers licensing of private kindergartens from cities to Provincial Department of Welfare.

- 1962: (August) Order in Council transfers jurisdiction of private kindergartens from Department of Welfare to Department of Education.

- 1963: Department of Education issues Kindergarten Manual.

4. Early Childhood Education Movement:

- 1964: (November) Worth addresses ASTA Annual Convention. Delivers "Critical Years" message. Special committee set up by ASTA Urban Section to study kindergarten question.

- 1965: (April) Edmonton Separate School Board (ESSB) inherits kindergarten classes as a result of amalgamation of Edmonton with Jasper Place.

- 1965: Seventy-six Community Kindergartens in Calgary.

- 1966: (August) Minister of Education R. McKinnon states cost is major obstacle to establishment of kindergartens.

- 1966: (November) ATA Early Childhood Education Council inaugurated.

- 1966: (November) ASTA Annual Convention, Worth presents Before Six: A Report on the Alberta Early Childhood Education Study. Resolutions were adopted asking for provincial government support for kindergartens and for equivalent funds to be made available to boards who could not organize kindergartens.

- 1967: (February) CPSB receives funding for four experimental, preventative preschool classes under provincial Preventative Social Services Act.

- 1967: (August) ATA brief to Minister of Education calling on government to introduce kindergarten programs.

- 1967: (October) Provincial Cabinet rejects ATA proposals on kindergartens as being too costly.

- 1967: (November) AFHSA adopts resolution calling for government grants for school boards to establish kindergartens.

- 1968: (February) Conservative Opposition MLA Lou Hyndman calls for provincial support to kindergartens.

- 1968: (April) EPSB votes to establish experimental readiness centres in two schools.

- 1968: (March) Alberta Chamber of Commerce adopts resolution calling for provincial government assistance to establish kindergartens.

- 1969: (March) Report to Minister of Education R. Clark by A. Bredo: Cost of Support for Kindergarten Classes.

- 1969: (June) Alberta Junior Chamber of Commerce submits pro-kindergarten brief to Minister of Education and several Cabinet Committees.

5. Studies and Pilot Projects:

- 1969: (June) Commission of Educational Planning established. Dr. W.H. Worth is appointed Commissioner.

- 1969: (September) Department of Education Position Paper on ECE drafted by Dr. Church.
  Favours introduction of optional, phased kindergartens.

- 1970: (February) Department of Education Kindergarten Committee advised no funds available for the Committee or for revision of Kindergarten Manual.

- 1970: (May) Edmonton Branch of Canadian Committee on ECE (OMEP) presents brief to CEP favouring broadly based integrated ECE program.
- 1970: (June) ASTA establishes Education Council.
- 1970: (June) ASTA Seminar in Banff devoted to study of ECE. Dr. Horowitz keynote speaker. H.Gunderson voices strong opposition.
- 1970: (July) EPSB and Inglewood Community Association with Educorps (in Calgary), selected for government-funded preschool pilot project.
- 1970: (August) New School Act contains no mention of kindergartens. Kindergarten Regulations remain essentially unchanged under the Department of Education Act.
- 1970: (September) ATA brief to government favours universal kindergartens.
- 1971: (January) Minister of Education, R. Clark refuses ATA kindergarten request because research isn't completed on pilot projects and government can't afford it.
- 1971: (January) ASTA brief to government: 1970 resolution calling for provincial funding for kindergartens.
- 1971: (February) CEP N-12 Education Task Force Interim Proposals are released. Publicly supported, universally available ECE prog[illegible] is advocated.
- 1971: (March) Report to Minister of Education entitled Estimated Capital Cost of Introducing a Province-Wide Kindergarten System.
- 1971: (April) Cooperative Early Childhood Education Project (CECEP) proposal involving the two Edmonton School Boards, the University of Alberta, the Department of Social Development, submitted to the Innovative Projects Board of the Department of Education.
- 1971: (May) N-12 Task Force Revised Proposals submitted: it is specified that ECE should be operated by school boards.
- 1971: (May) Department of Education ECE Committee disbanded by R. Clark.

- 1971: (July) R. Clark reinstates Department of Education ECE Committee with broader membership, as an Advisory Committee to the Minister.

6. Toward Early Childhood Services:

- 1971: (August) Provincial general elections. The Progressive Conservative party forms the new government; Mr. Lou Hyndman becomes Minister of Education.

- 1971: (September) Revised Innovative Project proposal Early Childhood Development through Environmental Control Centres involving the collaboration of the High Prairie School Division #48 and the Slave Lake Preventive Social Services Board of the Department of Social Development, is approved by Mr. Hyndman.

- 1971: (September) ATA Executive Council approved the Early Childhood Education Council ECE Position Paper for distribution.

- 1971: (October) Alberta Association for Young Children (AAYC) formed. Recommends government support for broad-based early childhood program, coordinating the activities of various government departments.

- 1971: (October) Dr. E.K. Hawkesworth becomes Deputy Minister of Education and Dr. H.I. Hastings is appointed Associate Director of Curriculum.

- 1971: (October) Report to Minister of Education, A Resume of Early Childhood Education: Present Status, Future Plans and Estimated Costs in Establishing a Publicly-Supported Kindergarten Program, prepared by Dr. Church.

- 1971: (November) ATA brief urging government support for ECE.

- 1972: (January 18) First meeting of Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE. Committee composition and terms of reference discussed. Importance of articulating and coordinating the activities of various government departments and agencies in ECE, underlined by Dr. Church, Dr. Horowitz and Dr. Torgunrud.

- 1972: (January) Minister of Education Lou Hyndman tells Conference of Alberta Superintendents, that he has an open mind on approaches to ECE and that an ECE program would not be imposed on school boards.

- 1972: (February) ASTA brief to government recommending School Foundation Program Fund support for preschool classes (from November 1971 Convention).

- 1972: (March) Second meeting of Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE. Horowitz paper An Integrated Approach to ECE prepared for the ASTA, adopted as basis for recommendations to be made.

- 1972: (April) Edmonton Cooperative Kindergartens growing in popularity.

- 1972: (May) Third meeting of Minister's Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education. Recommendations call for pilot projects to test alternative delivery systems and establishment of an Office of Early Childhood Development to provide coordination of services.
  The Recommendations also asked the government not to endorse universal kindergartens for the next two or three years.

- 1972: (June) The Report of the Commission on Educational Planning is released. "Worth Report". Lists among its "top ten" recommendations, the provision of selective experience and universal opportunity for early childhood education.

- 1972: (August) Alberta Human Resources Research Council (AHRRC) completes evaluation of Edmonton and Calgary preschool pilot projects. Favours the Request for Proposal approach to test alternative models for ECE.

- 1972: (September) ATA Early Childhood Education Council submits brief supporting the "Worth Report" ECE recommendations but stressing the need for interdepartmental coordination as well as alternative programs and delivery systems.

- 1972: (October) ASTA submits brief in reaction to "Worth Report" supporting its early childhood recommendations and stating that school systems were the logical agencies to assume responsibility for ECE programs.

- 1972: (October) PCKA submitted brief in reaction to "Worth Report" calling for provincially-funded universal kindergartens by September 1973. Also organized meeting with several MLA and two Cabinet ministers receiving assurance of a clear statement of government position in Fall Session of Legislature.

- 1972: (October) Dr. H.I. Hastings appointed Director of Early Childhood Services (not publicly-announced).

- 1972: (November 15) Preliminary framework for Operational Plans for Early Childhood Services presented to the Deputy Minister of Education by Dr. Hastings.

- 1972: (November 20) Opportunities for Infants by Downey, a policy paper on early childhood development prepared for the government, is tabled in the Legislature. Government action in ECE was recommended. Interdepartmental coordination was stressed and priority to handicapped and underpriviledged children was advocated.

- 1972: (November 24) A Proposal Regarding the Systematic Implementation of Early Childhood Services in the Province of Alberta, a paper by D. Ledgerwood proposes a systems approach and an autonomous structure for ECS.

- 1972: (November 24-25) Fourth meeting of Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE. Minister of Education, L. Hyndman participates in the two-day meeting. General agreement with Downey position paper. Program of action planned with a view to a public announcement in March 1973.

- 1972: (November 27) ASTA President Harald Gunderson mounts offensive against kindergartens through Edmonton and Calgary newspapers.

- 1972: (December) A formal meeting on ECS takes place between the Deputy Minister of Culture, Youth and Recreation; Advanced Education; Health and Social Development; and Education.

- 1972: (December 15) Dr. Hastings submits to the Deputy Minister, an internal draft of Operational Plans with several alternatives for each policy statement.

- 1972: (December 15 to 1973, February 15) Several meetings were held between the Minister L. Hyndman, Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Hastings, resulting in the elimination of a number of alternatives in connection with each policy statement that was being proposed.

- 1973: (January 18) Fifth meeting of the Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE. The first official draft of Operational Plans for ECS was presented and discussed.

- 1973: (end of January) Second meeting between the Deputy Ministers of the government departments involved.

- 1973: (February) ATA brief to government indicating that priority in ECE should be accorded to the children most in need. Early childhood programs should be under the direction of qualified teachers and operated in schools.

- 1973: (February 27) Sixth meeting of the Minister's Advisory Committee on ECE. The ASTA-sponsored paper, The Integrated Services Approach to Early Childhood Education by Mrs. J.B. Krysowaty was presented and discussed. The second official draft of Operational Plans was reviewed.

- 1973: (February 27 to March 10) Revisions were made to the second official draft. At least four meetings were held between Dr. Hawkesworth and Dr. Hastings to this end; two of the meetings also involved the Minister.

- 1973: (March 2) Provincial Treasurer, Gordon Miniely announces in his Budget Speech to the Legislature, provisions for the launching of a $4.9 million phased, early childhood program.

- 1973: (March 12) Education Minister, Lou Hyndman announces the outline of a comprehensive Early Childhood Services program to commence in September of 1973.

APPENDIX III

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AASW	Alberta Association of Social Workers
AAYC	Alberta Association for Young Children
ACSTA	Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association
AFHSA	Alberta Federation of Home and School Associations
AHRRC	Alberta Human Resources Research Council
ASTA	Alberta School Trustees' Association
ATA	Alberta Teachers' Association
(ATA)ARA	Annual Representative Assembly
(ATA)ECEC	Early Childhood Education Council
CCEC	Canadian Committee on Early Childhood
CECEP	Cooperative Early Childhood Education Project
CEP	Commission on Educational Planning
CPSB	Calgary Public School Board
CSSB	Calgary Separate School Board
ECE	Early Childhood Education
ECS	Early Childhood Services
EPSB	Edmonton Public School Board
ESSB	Edmonton Separate School Board
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
OMEP	World Organization for Early Childhood Education
PCKA	Parent Co-operative Kindergarten Association of Greater Edmonton
PSS	Preventive Social Services
U of A	University of Alberta